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THUCYDIDES

HISTORIES

BOOK II

EDITED BY

T. R. MILLS

WITH A GENERAL INTRODUCTION

BY

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INTRODUCTION

THUCYDIDES tells us that he was the son of Olorus (iv. 104. 4); that he lived through the whole of the Peloponnesian War, being ripe in years and judgement (*αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ*, v. 26. 5); that he began the preparation of his history at the outset of the war (i. 1. 1); that he suffered from the plague of 429 B.C. (ii. 48. 3); that he was elected general in 424 B.C., and dispatched to the Thraceward district (where he enjoyed the right of working certain gold mines) in order to check the advance of Brasidas, but failed to relieve Amphipolis, though he was just in time to save Eïon (iv. 104–7); that he was exiled in consequence of this partial failure, and spent twenty years in banishment, during which he associated with both parties to the war (v. 26. 5).

These facts comprise almost all that we know with certainty concerning Thucydides; for the biographies found at the beginning of some MSS. are of very little value. They are derived from ancient commentaries,[1] to which, according to custom, a life of the author was prefixed; and the biographical details which they contain, so far as they do not rest on inferences from the text of the history, are often confused and contradictory.

[1] The longest of these biographies is described as having been compiled by Marcellinus 'from the commentaries' (*ἐκ τῶν σχολίων*). Marcellinus is probably to be identified with the author of Scholia on Hermogenes *Περὶ στάσεων*, who seems to have lived in the fifth century A.D.

They are supported and supplemented by the scattered statements of ancient writers, notably Dionysius of Halicarnassus [1], Plutarch [2], and Pausanias [3]; and the following facts seem to possess a certain degree of probability.

The name of Thucydides' father, Olorus, is identical with that of the Thracian prince whose daughter, Hegesipyle, was the wife of Miltiades and mother of Cimon; again, the daughter of Cimon was married to the statesman Thucydides, the son of Melesias. Hence it is natural to assume that there was a family connexion between the historian and the house of Miltiades; and the fact is stated by our ancient authorities, who were, however, entirely without evidence to show the precise degree of relationship. It is confirmed by the existence of the historian's tomb in the suburb of Athens known as Κοίλη, outside the πύλαι Μελιτίδες. This tomb adjoined those of Cimon and Miltiades, and was seen by the antiquary Polemon, who lived near the beginning of the second century B.C.; it bore the inscription Θουκυδίδης Ὀλόρου Ἀλιμούσιος, which late writers endeavoured to convert into a hexameter by the addition of the words ἐνθάδε κεῖται. It was doubtless the family connexion of Thucydides with Thrace which led to his acquiring the right of working the gold mines in that region taken by the Athenians from the Thasians in 463 B.C.; and it may be true that he also had property in Thrace, especially at Σκαπτὴ ὕλη, whither he retired as an exile.

As to his latter years and the manner of his death

[1] Dionysius wrote two Essays on Thucydides, the *De Thucydide iudicium* and the *Second Letter to Ammaeus*.

[2] *Cim.* 4. [3] i. 32.

conflicting stories were current. Timaeus, the Sicilian historian, who was born about the middle of the fourth century B. C., is quoted as saying that he spent the years of his exile, died, and was buried in Italy; and if a statement so manifestly untrue could be made within a century after the historian's death, there can have been but little certain knowledge attainable in the matter. It was vehemently disputed whether Thucydides died in Thrace or in Athens, although his own words in v. 26. 5 *ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι*, clearly imply that he returned to Athens, and his description of the wall of Themistocles whose remains 'may still be seen at the Piraeus' (i. 93. 5) shows that he was in Athens after the destruction of its walls by Lysander. Pausanias, in his description of the Acropolis, which is based on that of Polemon (v. *supra*), refers to a statue of a certain Oenobius, who, as he tells us, proposed a decree for the recall of Thucydides from exile. The name, which is a rare one in the fifth century, is found as that of a general commanding in the neighbourhood of Thasos in 410/9 B. C., and we hear of one 'Eucles the son of Oenobius' somewhat later. It has been conjectured that the father of Oenobius may have been the Eucles who was Thucydides' colleague as *στρατηγός* (iv. 104).[1] Thus the statement of Pausanias (i. e. Polemon) seems not to be unworthy of credence. The decree must have been passed in the

[1] We do not know whether Eucles (as seems probable) shared the exile of Thucydides. The historian preserves a dignified reticence as to the proceedings in the assembly and law-courts after the fall of Amphipolis; and we are left to infer his judgement on a democracy which treated failure as equivalent to treason from such passages as iii. 43. 5 (speech of Diodotus) and vii. 14 (letter of Nicias).

last months of the war, for all exiles were recalled by a general decree passed on the conclusion of peace in 404 B.C.

There was a persistent tradition that Thucydides was assassinated, whether in Thrace or after his return to Athens[1]; but it is doubtful if more weight should be attached to it than to the statement of an anonymous 'Life' that he died 'of disease'. The date of his death can only be inferred from the internal evidence of his work. As this clearly lacked final revision, we cannot press the 'argumentum ex silentio' in cases of doubt; but he would assuredly have mentioned the restoration of the walls (v. *supra*) by Conon in A.D. 395, had he lived as long.

Thucydides announces the subject of his work in the opening sentence: it is 'the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians and how they fought with each other'; and he further tells us that he began to write when they first took up arms. We are, therefore, to suppose that the composition of the work continued throughout the war, and in fact (as it is clearly unfinished) until the death of the historian. Again, as the history was never completed, so it was certainly never revised; and we should not, therefore, be surprised to find in it traces of the different dates at which the several portions were composed. In point of fact, the evidences of this kind which have been brought forward in support of modern critical hypotheses have but the slightest value. The most famous of these hypotheses is that of Ullrich, who holds that Books I–V. 25, which

[1] Plut. *Cim.* 4; Didymus quoted by Marcellinus in the *Life of Thucydides*, § 32.

contain the history of the 'Archidamian' War (432–421 B.C.), form in reality a separate treatise, written between the Peace of Nicias and the Sicilian Expedition, and that the phrase 'this war' in the earlier books refers to the Ten Years War only. But it is noteworthy that the clearest case of such a use is to be found in iv. 48. 5, where we are told how the Corcyraean sedition ended 'as far as this war is concerned'. These words were added, as it seems, after the recrudescence of the troubles in 410 B.C.; so that Thucydides could write of 'this war' after hostilities had broken out afresh, and was then still engaged in describing its earlier phase. It is true that in v. 26 the historian clearly makes a fresh start with the words 'the same Thucydides of Athens recorded the events in order, reckoning by summers and winters, until the fall of Athens'. But he is careful to add that 'the war lasted for twenty-seven years, and any one who declines to count the interval of truce as war is mistaken'. So that his words are only such as a modern historian might employ in opening the second volume of a work falling into two natural divisions.

That the first volume, if we may so call it, was largely written in the interval between 421 and 416 B.C., is more than probable; that it received additions after the final fall of Athens is certain. The most important of these is the famous passage (ii. 65) in which Thucydides passes judgement on the career of Pericles, and thereby takes occasion to point out the errors which involved Athens in irretrievable disaster; of the rest, the allusion to Archelaus of Macedonia, who reigned 413–399 B.C. (ii. 100), may be taken as typical. It is likely, too, that the Preface, the sketch of early Greek civilization, and

the account of the 'Fifty Years' between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars, were worked into their present shape when the book was nearing its completion. That it was never finished is plain: the narrative breaks off abruptly, and there is no ground for thinking that any part of it has been lost in transmission. Moreover, the second volume is uneven in style and lacks final revision. The sixth and seventh books, which tell the story of the Sicilian Expedition, are an acknowledged masterpiece of the historian's art: it has been thought that they were written as a separate work, but it is quite sufficient to assume that they were the object of Thucydides' peculiar care. But the eighth book, besides being incomplete, is the only one which contains no speeches, and may be held to represent the earlier stages of Thucydidean composition.

Thucydides states his own conception of the method and aim of history clearly in i. 22. He claims that he can give a true picture of the events (ἔργα) which he either witnessed himself or learnt by careful inquiry from eye-witnesses. He also claims that his work will be 'an everlasting possession', inasmuch as like events may be expected to happen again in the order of human things. Thus history is for him both a science and a guide to action; but he does not recognize in it an art. As an Athenian of the fifth century, however, Thucydides was an artist in spite of himself—an artist in words, and also a dramatist. He tells us himself that in reporting the speeches made during the war he 'put into the mouth of each speaker the words proper to the occasion'; and no one can read the Funeral Oration (ii. 35–46) without recognizing in it, not a faithful report of the

words spoken by Pericles, but Thucydides' own panegyric, composed after the fall of Athens and delivered at the grave of her departed greatness. But the insertion of fictitious speeches is only one of the conventions of a literature formed by rhetoric; a more serious question lies behind. Recent criticism of Thucydides has been based on the idea that his work is not truly scientific but fundamentally artistic. Negatively, we are told that 'the ancients were even further from a genuine science of history than from a genuine science of nature'; positively, that Thucydides' selection of events and treatment of characters—who are practically personifications of abstract forces, such as Hope or Insolence—is designed to present the fall of Athens as a tragedy in prose.

The truth which underlies these criticisms is largely mixed with error. Thucydides did not, of course, possess the apparatus of research as it has now been perfected, nor did he devote himself to gathering statistics for use in the economic interpretation of history; but he had a keen sense of the value of historical testimony and was capable of using documentary evidence in order to destroy a current fable, as in the case of the Pisistratidae (vi. 55); and he inserts in his text three diplomatic instruments—the armistice of 423 B.C., the Peace of 421 B.C., and the treaty of alliance between Athens and Sparta made in the latter year—copied by him, no doubt, from the originals. It has been pointed out that the text of the second of these differs in some details from that given by the original inscription, a fragment of which has been discovered[1]; but the variants, where

[1] Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 69.

they are not purely orthographical, are never of sufficient importance to affect the sense; and as some allowance may be made for errors in the transmission of our MS. text, and even official duplicates of Greek inscriptions do not always precisely tally, they afford no ground for impeaching the accuracy of Thucydides. It has further been alleged (by Kirchhoff) that Thucydides had no acquaintance with the three documents when he composed the draft of his history, but inserted them after his return from exile,[1] without making use of the information contained in them for the correction and amplification of his narrative. This is a serious charge; but it is fortunately baseless. In v. 29. 2—a passage inseparable from its context—Thucydides refers explicitly to the text of the Spartan-Attic alliance, so that this at least was before him as he wrote: and it cannot be said that the facts which we can infer from the documents, but of which no mention is made in the history—such as the recovery by Athens of her dependencies on Mt. Athos[2]—were essential to a narrative confined to 'the most noteworthy matters' (iii. 90. 1).

The case of the Revolution of the Four Hundred, narrated in the eighth book, is even more instructive. In the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία of Aristotle we possess an account of this transaction which differs in many details from that given by Thucydides, and is supported by a series of official documents quoted *in extenso*. If this account be correct and the documents trustworthy, then Thucydides is proved—in this instance—to have fallen

[1] It should always be remembered that Thucydides, whilst in exile, had every opportunity of consulting official copies of these documents.

[2] v. 18. 5.

short of that ideal of accurate investigation of the truth which he sets up in his Preface. But it is not so. Thucydides betrays, by his casual employment of a technical phrase, his acquaintance with one of the documents quoted by Aristotle,[1] and he doubtless knew the others. But there is good reason for thinking that they do not represent the real facts of the revolution, but give an *ex parte* version officially circulated by the oligarchs; whereas the story as told by Thucydides bears the stamp of truth, and gives us a living picture of events, stripped of the disguises with which they were cloaked by the party in power.[2] Thucydides, then, cannot justly be charged with lack of research: nor did he fail to grasp the critical principles which the historian should apply to events and periods remote from his immediate observation. In the opening chapters of his work he gives a sketch of early Greek history known as the *Archaeologia*; and in this he shows his comprehension of the fundamental principle upon which the use of the comparative method is based when he writes:—'Many customs now confined to barbarians might be shown to have existed in early times amongst the Hellenes.' It

[1] οἳ ἂν μάλιστα τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὠφελεῖν οἷοί τε ὦσιν (viii. 65. 3) = τοῖς δυνατωτάτοις καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν λῃτουργεῖν (Ἀθ. Πολ. 29. 5).

[2] In one detail Thucydides seems to be wrong. He states (viii. 67. 1) that Pisander and his friends proposed that ten ξυγγραφῆς should be elected; whereas we learn from the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία, in which the text of the decree is quoted (c. 29. 2), that twenty names were to be added to the existing board of ten πρόβουλοι (cp. Thuc. viii. 1. 3) in order to form the committee charged with the drafting of the new constitution. The error (if any) in Thucydides' account of the assassination of Phrynichus (viii. 92. 2), which forms the subject of an Attic inscription (Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 74), is of the most trifling nature.

is true that he does not reduce this principle to an abstract formula, as the modern anthropologist would; ancient historians did not reach the wider generalizations which are familiar to ourselves, since the course of recorded history was short and the field of comparison limited. But the true spirit of historical science breathes in the words of Thucydides.

A graver charge against Thucydides concerns his selection and presentation of facts. It has been said that he ignored the true causes of the Peloponnesian War—the rise of Athenian commerce, the pressure towards Western expansion, and the obstacles presented by Corinth and Megara—and concentrated his attention on great personalities such as Pericles or Cleon or Alcibiades: and further, that his characters are dramatic types, embodying such abstract concepts as Hope, Violence, or Deceit, and his narrative constructed according to the laws of Attic tragedy, with the Athenian people as protagonist. There is much truth in this last contention; the fall of Athens *was* a tragedy, and if Thucydides, in so presenting it, was great as an artist, that forms no reason for detracting from his greatness as an historian. Nor is it to be denied that he learnt much from the technique of the Attic drama; it has been said with justice that the passage in which the Athenian speakers warn the Melians against the delusions of Hope (v. 103), coming as it does just before the story of the Sicilian Expedition, is a masterstroke of tragic irony. But it cannot be proved that he perverted facts in order to draw a moral which they did not contain, or that (to take a concrete instance) in describing Cleon as 'the most violent of the citizens', he was guilty, not so much of

direct unfairness to a personal opponent who had brought about his exile, as of a more refined injustice in putting him on the stage as an incarnation of Aeschylean ὕβρις. The art of Thucydides is not without its conventions, such as the selection of *typical* episodes for detailed treatment: a famous example of this is the description of the siege of Plataea, which is out of all proportion to its intrinsic importance. But the true historian needs art as well as science, in order that the facts gathered by research may be made to yield their inner meaning; and Thucydides was great in both respects. Moreover—and this is what gives his work its special value—he wrote history as only those can write it who have helped to make it. As a man of affairs, he knew the men of his time—the primary agents in its history; and if we bear this in mind, we shall pause ere we charge him with omitting to note essential features in their policy.[1] It is not hard to see in what direction his own sympathies lay. Pericles, as drawn in ii. 65, clearly embodies his ideal of statesmanship; Cleon (iii. 36. 6; iv. 27) and Hyperbolus (viii. 73. 3) represent that which was hateful to him in Athenian democracy. As for the oligarchs Antiphon (viii. 68. 1), Phrynichus (viii. 27. 5), and Theramenes (viii. 68. 4), he speaks highly of their intellectual and oratorical ability; but his praise is reserved for the

[1] At the same time, Thucydides cannot be acquitted of omitting certain facts of primary importance, such as the doubling of the tribute in B. C. 425, asserted by the orators and confirmed by an inscription (Hicks and Hill, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, No. 64). Such an omission can neither be excused on the ground that Thucydides assumes acquaintance with the internal affairs of Athens on the part of his readers, nor by the fact that his subject was war and not finance—though his aim was clearly to confine his narrative as far as possible to military operations.

moderate constitution established at Athens on the fall of the Four Hundred, of which he says that 'oligarchy and democracy were mingled in due proportion' (viii. 97. 2). Thus we see that Thucydides, who was before all things an 'intellectual', held the doctrine dear to his class, that Science is able to compound the best constitution by a judicious mixture of opposites.[1]

The chronology of Thucydides has given rise to much dispute. At the opening of the continuous narrative (ii. 1) he tells us that the events of the war are described in order *κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα*; but no definition of these terms is given, and we are led to interpret them in their natural sense. In v. 20, a passage which forms a connecting link between the narrative of the Archidamian war and the continuation of the history, Thucydides invites the reader to regard 'the natural divisions of time' (this is the meaning of *κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους*) rather than the designation of the year by the names of officials (a method which of course varied in different cities) and to reckon by summers and winters, *ἐξ ἡμισείας ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος*. The plain meaning of these words appears to be that summer and winter, in Thucydides, are of equal length, but we should have expected that this conventional use of the terms would be explained at the beginning of the history. Moreover, in vi. 21. 2 Nikias, speaking of Sicily, uses the expression *ἐξ ἧς μηνῶν οὐδὲ τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν ἄγγελον ῥᾴδιον ἐλθεῖν*. These words are most naturally translated 'from whence it is scarcely possible for a messenger to come

[1] We cannot trace this idea to its original source; it was doubtless current in the political discussions of Thucydides' time.

even in four months—namely the winter months'.[1] A four months' winter suits well with current Greek ideas; Herodotus (ii. 68) writes of *τοὺς χειμεριωτάτους μῆνας τεσσέρας*, and in the Hippocratean tract *περὶ διαίτης* (3. 1), winter is reckoned as lasting from the early setting of Pleiades (Nov. 10) to the vernal equinox (Mar. 26 in the Julian calendar). The 'four winter months' would roughly correspond with Maimakterion, Poseideon, Gamelion, and Anthesterion in the Attic calendar, so that spring would commence in Elaphebolion; and the internal evidence of the narrative (see below) is in accordance with this view. Thucydides, moreover, includes both spring[2] and autumn[3] under 'summer', and autumn was generally held by the Greeks to commence with the early rising of Arcturus (Sept. 27), which phenomenon takes place in the course of a Thucydidean summer (ii. 78. 2). There appear, therefore, to be weighty reasons for supposing that the summer (i.e. campaigning season) and winter of Thucydides were unequal in length.[4]

It might be supposed that the date given by Thucydides in ii. 2 for the Theban attempt on Plataea would enable us to determine the commencement of spring

[1] It is, however, just possible to translate 'in four of the winter months', taking *τῶν χειμερινῶν* as a partitive genitive. Some editors, again, suppose *τῶν χειμερινῶν* to be an interpolation.

[2] Cf. iv. 117. 1 *ἅμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους*, vi. 94 *ἅμα τῷ ἦρι εὐθὺς ἀρχομένῳ τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους*, and so on.

[3] Cf. ii. 31. 1 *περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρους τούτου*.

[4] It is to be supposed that the words *θέρος* and *χειμών* were used in the Thucydidean sense by the writers who continued his history, viz. Xenophon and the author (probably Cratippus) whose work is represented by the recently discovered Oxyrhynchus papyrus (No. 842); but no conclusive evidence can be drawn from their writings on the point at issue.

according to his reckoning; but the interpretation of his statements has been disputed. The attempt was made ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ, and also τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός, i.e. towards the close of a *lunar* month; but it has been much debated whether the new moon in question was that of Mar. 9 or Apr. 7, B.C. 431; and the words Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις do not help us, for in any case Pythodorus had more than two months of his archonship left to run, so that unless it was prematurely terminated we must adopt the correction τέσσαρας (δ') for δύο. We are on more certain ground in dealing with iv. 52. 1, where we read τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς τοῦ ἡλίου ἐκλιπές τι ἐγένετο περὶ νουμηνίαν. This eclipse is without doubt that of Mar. 21, 424 B.C. Furthermore, we are told in iv. 117. 1 that the Spartans and Athenians made a truce ἅμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθύς; and this truce, as we learn from iv. 118. 12, came into force on Elaphebolion 14, B.C. 423, which corresponds with April 20; the negotiations must have occupied some little time. Again, in B.C. 421 the Peace of Nikias was concluded, according to Thuc. v. 20, τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἦρι ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν (the Dionysia lasted from the ninth to the thirteenth of Elaphebolion), and the treaty came into force on Elaphebolion 25 (April 11).

These facts point to the conclusion that Thucydides considered the spring to begin in the latter part of March, which corresponds with the commencement of the Attic month Elaphebolion. With regard to the opening of winter the data are by no means so clear; but since autumn was included under summer and gave time for such operations as Paches' expedition to Myti-

lene and the investment of the town (iii. 18. 3 ff.) before winter set in, we can hardly put the close of summer earlier than the end of October. It seems probable, therefore, that the winter of Thucydides coincides fairly accurately with that usually recognized by his contemporaries (Nov. 10—Mar. 26, see above); and the length of the campaigning season accords with the practice of the time, for we read in Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* (c. 11) that the Athenian fleet kept the sea for eight months in each year.

The accuracy of Thucydides in matters of geography and topography has been seriously impugned. It may be conceded that minor errors or instances of laxity of expression in geographical matters are not uncommon in his history; we find distances under- or over-stated (although the error is hardly ever serious) and points wrongly located (e.g. it seems to be implied in vi. 104. 2 that the gulf of Terina is on the east coast of Italy). But, in the absence of accurate maps and surveys, precision of geographical statement is not to be expected in a writer of the fifth century B.C. It is a more serious question whether Thucydides is to be trusted in his account of military operations such as those at Plataea, Pylos, and Syracuse, where accurate topography is essential. Now there can be no doubt whatever that he derived his account of these events from eye-witnesses, even if he did not visit the sites in person; and we shall therefore be slow to question the substantial truth of his narrative. It must be allowed that he had not the gift of rendering topographical details clear to his readers; the story of the siege of Syracuse, for example, though evidently written by one familiar with the ground, con-

tains obscurities which have never been convincingly elucidated. The details of the siege of Plataea have been pronounced to be incredible; but we know too little of the aspect of the city in the fifth century B. C. to subscribe to this verdict. The remains found on the site belong to a time subsequent to the destruction of Plataea by the Thebans; and the area occupied in 429–427 B. C. may have been little larger than the acropolis of the later city. The most serious charge against Thucydides concerns his narrative of the operations of Demosthenes and Cleon at Pylos and Sphacteria; no satisfactory theory has been devised to explain the undoubted error contained in Thucydides' statement that the southern channel separating Sphacteria from the mainland could be blocked by eight or nine ships stationed abreast (iv. 8). The graphic touches in which the narrative abounds are clearly due to an eye-witness, and the details of the final storming of Sphacteria have been confirmed by minute examination of the site.[1] We can only suppose, therefore, that Thucydides misunderstood the information supplied to him.

In style and language Thucydides represents the struggle between genius and convention in its acutest form. The art of prose writing was brought into being by the Ionic historians—called λογογράφοι or 'prose-writers' *par excellence*—of whom the last and greatest was Herodotus; and the Ionic philosophers—notably

[1] It is true that the length of the island is given as fifteen stadia, whereas twenty-five would be nearer the truth; but the mistake may be due to a corruption of the MS. text, which is not to be trusted in the matter of numerals.

Heraclitus and Democritus—showed that artistic prose could be made the vehicle of expression for abstract ideas, often clothed in poetic imagery. But the systematic study of prose composition as an art was the work of the Sicilians, Korax and Tisias, who sought to furnish the citizens of the new democracies with the weapons of aggression and defence which they needed in the assembly and the law-courts. Henceforth it was necessary for every Greek who aspired to play a part in the public life of his city to acquire the elements of 'the speaker's art' (ῥητορική, sc. τέχνη), which became the most important subject in the curriculum of the higher education imparted by the Sophists. Of these Gorgias of Leontini, who is said to have come from Sicily to Athens in 427 B.C., had the greatest influence on the development of prose writing. Later critics (such as Aristotle) rightly discerned that the cardinal feature of the new rhetoric was the more elaborate structure of the sentence. For the λέξις εἰρομένη of the Ionic writers, in which the clauses were 'strung together' (εἴρεσθαι), was substituted the λέξις κατεστραμμένη, in which the sentence was 'brought to a conclusion' (καταστροφή) kept in view from the outset, and thus acquired an artistic unity. The simplest form of such a sentence was that in which two clauses antithetic in sense balanced each other, and some critics treated the λέξις ἀντικειμένη or 'contrasted' style as a form intermediary between the two named above. Gorgias was the recognized master of this style, and the devices by which he secured the balance of clauses in sound as well as sense were called the 'Gorgian figures' (σχήματα Γοργίεια). We do not need the express testimony of the ancients to assure us that Thucydides was subject to the

influence of Gorgias, whom he followed even in his most patent defects. The contrast of *ἔργον* and *λόγος* is worn threadbare by constant use,[1] and highly artificial, if not false antitheses, are not uncommon.[2] Nor was Gorgias the only Sophist whose influence is traceable in the pages of Thucydides. Prodicus of Ceos (whose style is parodied by Plato in the *Protagoras* [3]) set the fashion of elaborating subtle distinctions between words of cognate meaning, and his example was followed by Thucydides in more than one passage which cannot be pronounced free from the reproach of pedantry.[4] We are told that Antiphon was also amongst the teachers of Thucydides; but although he bestows praise upon his oratory,[5] there is no evidence that he was his pupil, and all that we can affirm is that both writers were versed in the new art, to the rules of which Antiphon's forensic speeches—especially that 'on the murder of Herodes'—display a somewhat pedantic adherence.

It is not so easy to detect the conventional element in Thucydides' vocabulary. To the Sophists—especially to Gorgias—he owed the use of the neuter adjective or participle to express abstract conceptions (*τὸ εὐπρεπὲς ἄσπουδον, τὸ δεδιός* in the sense of 'fear', and the like), as well as the practice of coining words in order to point an

[1] It is found in nearly one hundred passages in Thucydides; eighteen of these occur in the Funeral Oration.

[2] There is a famous example in i. 70. 6 (where Thucydides is contrasting the Spartan character with the Athenian) *ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς.*

[3] 337 A.

[4] The most striking example is the distinction drawn between *αἰτία* and *κατηγορία* in i. 69. 6.

[5] *κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἃ γνοίη εἰπεῖν*, viii. 68. 1.

antithesis.[1] Other peculiarities of usage have been explained by the fact that, as the scholiasts inform us, the language of Thucydides was 'the Early Attic dialect' (ἡ ἀρχαία Ἀττθίς); but this means only that he employed such forms as ξύν for σύν, αἰεί for ἀεί, and so on, which belong to the Attic of the fifth century B.C. as distinguished from the later dialect. We are not necessarily to infer that the words found in his history, which are foreign to the pure dialect of the Comedians and Orators, belong to the Attic of Thucydides' youth, and were retained by him with the aim of imparting an archaic flavour to his prose; they represent rather his debt to the Ionic historians and philosophers. Such are ἀχθηδών, ἀμφιδήριτος, ἀκραιφνής, κλέος, θάμβος, and many others; they belong in part to the language of poetry, and show that Thucydides followed the Ionic philosophers[2] in admitting a poetical colouring in his prose style. To the same source we may trace his bold use of metaphors such as ἰατρὸς τῆς πόλεως and the like. Indeed, the only device belonging to the prose art of his day which we seek in vain in his pages is the imitation of musical rhythm of which Thrasymachus was the foremost exponent.

Nevertheless, the language of Thucydides bears the impress of a genius whose freedom such conventions as those which we have described could limit but in small degree. The often repeated criticism of Quintilian—*densus et brevis et semper instans sibi Thucydides*—does not lose its point even when we are forced to allow that

[1] The phrase τῷ φρονίμῳ τῆς γνώμης παύοντες τὸ ἄφρον, quoted from Gorgias' Funeral Oration, might have been written by Thucydides. For the coinage of new forms cp. i. 70, 3 f. (nouns of the agent in -της).

[2] Notably Heraclitus, to whose work Plato gives the title Ἰάδες Μοῦσαι (*Soph.* 242 D).

the thought with which his pages are tightly packed is sometimes only the play of a subtle and sophistical intelligence about a single theme—'the crowding of curious and distorted aphorisms about some central idea', as it has been called.[1] It remains true that his sentences, whether in speeches embodying political doctrine such as the Funeral Oration, or in passages devoted to the searching analysis of human passions, such as the essay on revolution in iii. 82 ff., are packed with ideas expressed with the utmost parsimony of words. To this excessive brevity both ancient and modern critics have traced the obscurity which is so glaring a defect in Thucydides' writing: but the excuse is only partially valid, for it would have been easy to remove many of the harsh constructions which arise from the sudden shifts and turns in the historian's point of view without expanding the sentence. It would seem as though Thucydides was intentionally careless of reducing to logical form the ideas which arose in his mind. When the Plataeans address the Spartans in the words *ἡμέρας τε ἀναμιμνήσκομεν ἐκείνης ἣ τὰ λαμπρότατα μετ' αὐτῶν πράξαντες νῦν ἐν τῇδε τὰ δεινότατα κινδυνεύομεν παθεῖν* (iii. 59. 2), or the Corinthians assert that the clause permitting Sparta and Athens to enrol fresh allies applies only to the people *ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσει* (i. 40. 2), the sense is as clear as the logic is tangled.

Of the transmission of Thucydides' text we know scarcely anything. As he did not live to complete his history, it may have been edited and must have been published by other hands than his: but no weight can be attached to the statement of Diogenes Laertius, that

[1] Mahaffy, *History of Classical Greek Literature*, ii, p. 111.

Xenophon gave it to the world. The division into books which we find in our MSS. was not the only nor the original arrangement. The scholia contain references to an edition in thirteen books, of which no other trace exists.[1] The manuscript tradition begins for us with papyrus fragments found in Egypt, the most important of which was found at Oxyrhynchus in 1897 and contains iv. 36–41 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. i, No. xvi [2]); portions of a commentary on the second book were discovered on the same site in 1906 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. vi, No. 853). The former of these dates from the second or third century A.D., the latter probably from the second. This period is separated from that of our earliest MSS. by an interval of eight centuries. It is now generally admitted that seven codices only, ranging in date from the tenth to the thirteenth century, are worthy of primary consideration in the constitution of the Thucydidean text, for though we are obliged at times to have recourse to later MSS. in order to recover the true reading, we may generally feel sure that it is due to the conjecture of a learned scribe. Such MSS. can no more be treated as primary sources of the text than the early printed editions. The seven old MSS. fall into two groups or families. The first consists of two codices, the Laurentian (C), which is the oldest of all extant MSS., dating from

[1] At the close of Book III there is a marginal note in C which states that the fifth book of the edition in thirteen books ended here: and at the close of the seventy-seventh chapter of Book IV a similar note tells us that the sixth book ended at this point.

[2] A few more fragments were subsequently discovered (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. iv, No. 696). A shorter fragment, published in 1885 by Wessely, contains portions of viii. 91 f. See also *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. vi, Nos. 878–80.

the tenth century A. D., and a Munich MS. (G), of the thirteenth century.[1] To the other belong the Paris MS. (A), of the eleventh or twelfth century, the Vatican MS. (B), the 'Palatine' MS. at Heidelberg (E), and a second Munich MS. (F), all of the eleventh century. We must also include in this family a MS. in the British Museum (M) also of the eleventh century, although in several passages it shares the readings of C and G, turning the scale in their favour. These two families represent two texts of Thucydides current in later antiquity of about equal merit: C is our best individual MS., and its readings are on the whole to be preferred to those of the other group in doubtful cases: the variants are in great part of minor importance, consisting in the omission or addition of small words or trifling differences in tense- or mood-forms. They are much more numerous in the first two books than in those which follow. From vi. 92. 5 onwards we meet with a new factor: the Vatican MS. henceforward presents a text which differs considerably from that of the other MSS. The value of its readings has been much disputed: some of them, it is true, appear to be due to the intrusion of marginal comments, but there is no ground for thinking that we have to deal with a systematically edited text. In several important passages B clearly has the true reading; and we can only conclude that it is the sole representative of a tradition independent of that followed by the remaining MSS. and of equal antiquity. It has been conjectured that this tradition was that of the recension in thirteen books; the tenth of these might perhaps have begun at vi. 94. But there is

[1] This MS. has suffered damage at the upper margin of the page throughout, so that its evidence is often wanting.

no evidence of this.[1] The papyrus fragments are too short to be of much value in deciding the relative merit of rival traditions. In one or two cases they confirm the conjectures of modern critics, but only when slight alterations of the text are involved, lending no countenance to the theory that the manuscript tradition is vitiated by the intrusion of marginal glosses in large numbers, nor indeed by any extensive corruption, unless of very early date. Thus in iv. 37. 1 the words *τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι*, deleted by Krüger on the supposition that the copyist's eye was misled by their occurrence in the following line, are found in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus. What the papyri do prove, however, is that a large number of minor variants, such as *εἰ βούλονται* for *εἰ βούλοιντο* in iv. 37. 2, *ἀπέφυγε* for *διέφυγε* in viii. 92. 2, were current in texts of the Roman period. We can therefore feel no confidence that in such matters our editions reproduce the autograph of Thucydides; but neither our judgement of his style, nor our appreciation of his meaning, is in the least affected. The quotations from Thucydides found in ancient writers, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and the imitations of later historians, afford no ground for questioning the general soundness of the text, which from its very difficulty was the more carefully studied and accurately preserved. It goes without saying that the Attic orthography employed by Thucydides was gradually modernized, and must be restored in accordance with the evidence derived from inscriptions, the statements of ancient grammarians, and the usage of Comedy where fixed by the metre.

[1] The fact that variants occur in vi. 92 f. may be urged against this conjecture.

INTRODUCTION TO BOOK II

In reviewing the operations narrated in this Book, which covers the first three years of the war (from the spring of 431 to the close of the winter of 429/8), it will be convenient to consider briefly the several fields in which hostilities were carried on.

Attica. — The Peloponnesians, with their overwhelming superiority on land, struck at the heart of the enemy's territory. In five of the first seven years of the war they invaded Attica and destroyed the crops, in the hope that the Athenians would be forced either to fight a pitched battle or to sue for peace. But such strategy proved of no avail against a state which, having command of the sea and possessing a port linked to the city by fortified lines, was able to draw supplies for its population from abroad. The population, with the exception of a few garrisons, e. g. Oenoe, was concentrated within the fortifications of Athens, and reprisals were limited to cutting off stragglers from the invading force.

Peloponnesus.—The coasts of the Peloponnesian confederacy were the natural objective of an opponent who was supreme in naval power. Places on the seaboard of Laconia and Elis and eastern Locris were ravaged in 431, and in the following year Pericles himself commanded an expedition against Epidaurus and other cities in the Argolic peninsula. The plan of establishing fortified posts in the enemy's territory, which proved so effective later in the cases of Pylos and Cythera, is exemplified thus early in the case of Atalante off the coast of eastern Locris. This post afforded protection to Euboea, just as the expulsion of

the Aeginetans and the occupation of their island by Athenian settlers removed a standing menace from the Piraeus.

Against Megara special efforts were made. The territory of that state lay right across the Isthmus; and possession of it would have given the Athenians immediate access to the Corinthian Gulf, besides enabling them to cut the communications between the northern and the southern members of the Peloponnesian confederacy. Accordingly, they invaded the Megarid year after year and destroyed the crops, at the same time blockading Nisaea, the Megarian port on the Saronic Gulf. But the Megarians made a dogged resistance, and even conceived the bold project of seizing the Piraeus.

Plataea.—In northern Greece, apart from the operations on the Locrian coast already mentioned, hostilities were confined to Plataea. The original attempt at its capture, which was due to the traditional enmity of Thebes, was followed by an elaborate siege by the forces of the Peloponnesian league, narrated at considerable length in Books II and III. Since the town commanded the only convenient military route across the frontier between the Megarid and Boeotia, its capture was of the greatest importance for the maintenance of communications between Peloponnesus and the northern allies.

North-western Greece.—In the north-west, which commanded the route to Sicily, both of the contending powers had important allies, and Corinth in particular had several colonies. The Lacedaemonians expected naval aid from Sicily and Italy. Athens, on her side, felt that it was undesirable that the island should supply the enemy with corn.[1] She had been induced to interfere on behalf of the Chalcidian colonies against their Dorian neighbours, concluding in 433 alliances with Leontini and with Rhegium in Italy; and the more recent alliance with Corcyra, one of the three greatest naval powers of Greece, had

[1] iii. 86. 4.

given her vessels a convenient port of call on the voyage to Italy and Sicily. In this region Athens, already in possession of an important base of operations at Naupactus, distinctly strengthened her position in 431–429 by the capture of two Corinthian colonies, Sollium and Astacus, and by the adherence of Cephallenia to her alliance; Oeniadae alone, defended by the swamps of the Achelous, held out till 424. On the other hand the Peloponnesian attack on Zacynthus was a failure; their Acarnanian expedition was notable chiefly for the defeat of their Epirot allies near Stratus; while the scheme for recovering Zacynthus and Cephallenia and even seizing Naupactus was baffled by the skill and daring of Phormio.

The North Coast of the Aegean.—In the region to the north of the Aegean the revolt of the Corinthian colony of Potidaea had been one of the proximate causes of the war. The siege of two and a half years which preceded its surrender involved Athens in heavy expenditure of life and of treasure. Against the success at Potidaea must be set the disastrous expedition in Chalcidice in 429. The steady support which the Thracian monarch Sitalces gave to Athens presented a striking contrast to the vacillation of Perdiccas of Macedon. He had quarrelled with Athens in 432, entered into negotiations with Sparta and Corinth, and fomented the revolt of the cities of Chalcidice; the Athenian invasion of his territory had been dropped in consequence of the revolt of Potidaea; in 431 he was again at variance with Athens, and again reconciled.

Asia.—In Asia we hear only of the dispatch of a squadron to the coasts of Lycia and Caria for the protection of Athenian commerce from privateers. But the Peloponnesians were already seeking financial aid from Persia, and it was by the adhesion of Persia to the Peloponnesian side that the issue of the war was ultimately determined.

ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΟΥ

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Β

SIGLA

(See Introduction, pp. xxii–xxv)

A = cod. Parisinus suppl. Gr. 255
B = cod. Vaticanus 126
C = cod. Laurentianus LXIX. 2
E = cod. Palatinus 252
F = cod. Monacensis 430
G = cod. Monacensis 228
M = cod. Britannicus 11, 727
$A^1 B^1$ etc. = scriptura a prima manu correcta
a b etc. = scriptura a manu recentiore substituta vel adscripta
[A] [B] etc. = verba in codice olim exarata hodie vel evanida vel exesa
$\gamma\rho.$ = scriptura signo $\gamma\rho(\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota)$ addito adscripta
codd. = consensus codicum A B C E F G M
recc. = unus vel plures e codicibus recentioris aevi
vulgo = scriptura in editionibus vulgata

ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Β

Ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἤδη Ἀθηναίων καὶ Πελο- 1
ποννησίων καὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις ξυμμάχων, ἐν ᾧ οὔτε ἐπεμείγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτεὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους καταστάντες τε ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν· γέγραπται δὲ ἑξῆς ὡς ἕκαστα ἐγίγνετο κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα.

Τέσσαρα μὲν γὰρ καὶ δέκα ἔτη ἐνέμειναν αἱ τριακον- 2
τούτεις σπονδαὶ αἳ ἐγένοντο μετ' Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν· τῷ δὲ πέμπτῳ καὶ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἄργει τότε πεν- 48
τήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντα ἔτη ἱερωμένης καὶ Αἰνησίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἕκτῳ καὶ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ Θηβαίων ἄνδρες ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων (ἦγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν βοιωταρχοῦντες Πυθάγγελός τε ὁ Φυλείδου καὶ Διέμπορος ὁ Ὀνητορίδου) ἐσῆλθον περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον ξὺν ὅπλοις ἐς Πλάταιαν τῆς Βοιωτίας οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίδα. ἐπηγάγοντο δὲ καὶ ἀνέῳξαν τὰς πύλας Πλα- 2
ταιῶν ἄνδρες, Ναυκλείδης τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, βουλόμενοι ἰδίας ἕνεκα δυνάμεως ἄνδρας τε τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς σφίσιν ὑπεναντίους διαφθεῖραι καὶ τὴν πόλιν Θηβαίοις προσποιῆσαι. ἔπραξαν δὲ ταῦτα δι' Εὐρυμάχου τοῦ Λεοντιάδου, ἀνδρὸς 3
Θηβαίων δυνατωτάτου. προϊδόντες γὰρ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ὅτι ἔσοιτο ὁ πόλεμος ἐβούλοντο τὴν Πλάταιαν αἰεὶ σφίσι διάφορον οὖσαν ἔτι ἐν εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ τοῦ πολέμου μήπω

4 γέγραπται δὲ] καὶ γέγραπται C [G] 6 τέσσαρα γὰρ καὶ δέκα μὲν C (γὰρ in litura c) [G] 10 δύο] τέσσαρας Krüger 11 post καὶ add. δεκάτῳ καὶ Lipsius, δεκάτῳ Hude

φανεροῦ καθεστῶτος προκαταλαβεῖν. ἦ καὶ ῥᾷον ἔλαθον
4 ἐσελθόντες, φυλακῆς οὐ προκαθεστηκυίας. θέμενοι δὲ ἐς
τὴν ἀγορὰν τὰ ὅπλα τοῖς μὲν ἐπαγαγομένοις οὐκ ἐπείθοντο
ὥστε εὐθὺς ἔργου ἔχεσθαι καὶ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας τῶν
ἐχθρῶν, γνώμην δ' ἐποιοῦντο κηρύγμασί τε χρήσασθαι 5
ἐπιτηδείοις καὶ ἐς ξύμβασιν μᾶλλον καὶ φιλίαν τὴν πόλιν
ἀγαγεῖν (καὶ ἀνεῖπεν ὁ κῆρυξ, εἴ τις βούλεται κατὰ τὰ
πάτρια τῶν πάντων Βοιωτῶν ξυμμαχεῖν, τίθεσθαι παρ' αὐτοὺς
τὰ ὅπλα), νομίζοντες σφίσι ῥᾳδίως τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ προσ-
3 χωρήσειν τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς ὡς ἤσθοντο ἔνδον 10
τε ὄντας τοὺς Θηβαίους καὶ ἐξαπιναίως κατειλημμένην τὴν
πόλιν, καταδείσαντες καὶ νομίσαντες πολλῷ πλείους ἐσελη-
λυθέναι (οὐ γὰρ ἑῴων ἐν τῇ νυκτί) πρὸς ξύμβασιν ἐχώρησαν
καὶ τοὺς λόγους δεξάμενοι ἡσύχαζον, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ
2 ἐς οὐδένα οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέριζον. πράσσοντες δέ πως ταῦτα 15
κατενόησαν οὐ πολλοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους ὄντας καὶ ἐνόμισαν
ἐπιθέμενοι ῥᾳδίως κρατήσειν· τῷ γὰρ πλήθει τῶν Πλαταιῶν
3 οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀφίστασθαι. ἐδόκει οὖν
ἐπιχειρητέα εἶναι, καὶ ξυνελέγοντο διορύσσοντες τοὺς κοινοὺς
τοίχους παρ' ἀλλήλους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν φανεροὶ ὦσιν 20
ἰόντες, ἁμάξας τε ἄνευ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ἐς τὰς ὁδοὺς καθίστα-
σαν, ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ᾖ, καὶ τἆλλα ἐξήρτυον ᾗ ἕκαστον
4 ἐφαίνετο πρὸς τὰ παρόντα ξύμφορον ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὡς
ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἑτοῖμα ἦν, φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ
τὸ περίορθρον ἐχώρουν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἐπ' αὐτούς, ὅπως μὴ 25
κατὰ φῶς θαρσαλεωτέροις οὖσι προσφέροιντο καὶ σφίσιν ἐκ
τοῦ ἴσου γίγνωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν νυκτὶ φοβερώτεροι ὄντες ἧσσους
ὦσι τῆς σφετέρας ἐμπειρίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν. προσ-
4 έβαλόν τε εὐθὺς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας ἦσαν κατὰ τάχος. οἱ δ' ὡς
ἔγνωσαν ἐξηπατημένοι, ξυνεστρέφοντό τε ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς 30

3 ἐπαγαγομένοις Cf: ἐπαγομένοις cett. 4 ἐπὶ] ἐς A B E F
14 τοὺς om. C G 17 κρατήσειν Aeneas Tacticus: κρατῆσαι codd.
26 προσφέρωνται A B E F [G] 28 προσέβαλόν A E Schol.: προσ-
έβαλλόν cett. 30 ἐξηπατημένοι C Schol.: ἠπατημένοι cett.

καὶ τὰς προσβολὰς ᾗ προσπίπτοιεν ἀπεωθοῦντο. καὶ δὶς 2
μὲν ἢ τρὶς ἀπεκρούσαντο, ἔπειτα πολλῷ θορύβῳ αὐτῶν τε
προσβαλόντων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἅμα ἀπὸ
τῶν οἰκιῶν κραυγῇ τε καὶ ὀλολυγῇ χρωμένων λίθοις τε καὶ
κεράμῳ βαλλόντων, καὶ ὑετοῦ ἅμα διὰ νυκτὸς πολλοῦ ἐπι-
γενομένου, ἐφοβήθησαν καὶ τραπόμενοι ἔφευγον διὰ τῆς
πόλεως, ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες οἱ πλείους ἐν σκότῳ καὶ πηλῷ
τῶν διόδων ᾗ χρὴ σωθῆναι (καὶ γὰρ τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνὸς
τὰ χιγνόμενα ἦν), ἐμπείρους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς διώκοντας τοῦ
μὴ ἐκφεύγειν, ὥστε διεφθείροντο οἱ πολλοί. τῶν δὲ 3
Πλαταιῶν τις τὰς πύλας ᾗ ἐσῆλθον καὶ αἵπερ ἦσαν μόναι
ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔκλῃσε στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου χρησά-
μενος ἐς τὸν μοχλόν, ὥστε μηδὲ ταύτῃ ἔξοδον ἔτι εἶναι.
διωκόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οἱ μέν τινες αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ 4
τεῖχος ἀναβάντες ἔρριψαν ἐς τὸ ἔξω σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ
διεφθάρησαν οἱ πλείους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ πύλας ἐρήμους γυναικὸς
δούσης πέλεκυν λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες τὸν μοχλὸν
ἐξῆλθον οὐ πολλοί (αἴσθησις γὰρ ταχεῖα ἐπεγένετο), ἄλλοι
δὲ ἄλλῃ τῆς πόλεως σποράδες ἀπώλλυντο. τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον 5
καὶ ὅσον μάλιστα ἦν ξυνεστραμμένον ἐσπίπτουσιν ἐς οἴκημα
μέγα, ὃ ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ θύραι ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον
αὐτοῦ, οἰόμενοι πύλας τὰς θύρας τοῦ οἰκήματος εἶναι καὶ
ἄντικρυς δίοδον ἐς τὸ ἔξω. ὁρῶντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Πλαταιῆς 6
ἀπειλημμένους ἐβουλεύοντο εἴτε κατακαύσωσιν ὥσπερ ἔχου-
σιν, ἐμπρήσαντες τὸ οἴκημα, εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσωνται. τέλος 7
δὲ οὗτοί τε καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι τῶν Θηβαίων περιῆσαν κατὰ
τὴν πόλιν πλανώμενοι, ξυνέβησαν τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι παρα-
δοῦναι σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ὅπλα χρήσασθαι ὅτι ἂν
βούλωνται. οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ Πλαταίᾳ οὕτως ἐπεπράγεσαν· 8

6 ἔφυγον A B E F 10 οἱ om. A δὲ] τε A B E F 11 ἀνεῳγμέναι μόναι A B E F 13 ἔξοδον εἶναι ἔτι A : ἔτι ἔξοδον εἶναι B E F 14 δὲ] τε A B E F 19 σποράδην A B E F suprascr. G¹ 21 post αἱ add. πλησίον A B E F 23 οἱ Πλαταιῆς αὐτοὺς A E F 24 κατακαύσουσι F¹ : καύσωσιν C E 25 χρήσονται F¹ G 28 τε om. A B E F

μᾶλλον χωρία ἐπρεσβεύοντο, Κέρκυραν καὶ Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνας καὶ Ζάκυνθον, ὁρῶντες, εἰ σφίσι φίλια ταῦτ' εἴη βεβαίως, περιξ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καταπολεμήσοντες. 8 ὀλίγον τε ἐπενόουν οὐδὲν ἀμφότεροι, ἀλλ' ἔρρωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἀπεικότως· ἀρχόμενοι γὰρ πάντες ὀξύτερον 5 ἀντιλαμβάνονται, τότε δὲ καὶ νεότης πολλὴ μὲν οὖσα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, πολλὴ δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις οὐκ ἀκουσίως ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἥπτετο τοῦ πολέμου, ἥ τε ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἅπασα μετέωρος ἦν ξυνιουσῶν τῶν πρώτων πόλεων. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγετο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ᾖδον ἔν τε τοῖς 10 3 μέλλουσι πολεμήσειν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. ἔτι δὲ Δῆλος ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων, πρότερον οὔπω σεισθεῖσα ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται· ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ἐδόκει ἐπὶ τοῖς μέλλουσι γενήσεσθαι σημῆναι. εἴ τέ τι ἄλλο τοιουτότροπον 4 ξυνέβη γενέσθαι, πάντα ἀνεζητεῖτο. ἡ δὲ εὔνοια παρὰ 15 πολὺ ἐποίει τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἄλλως τε καὶ προειπόντων ὅτι τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦσιν. ἔρρωτό τε πᾶς καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ πόλις εἴ τι δύναιτο καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ξυνεπιλαμβάνειν αὐτοῖς· ἐν τούτῳ τε κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἑκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα ᾧ μή τις αὐτὸς παρέσται. 20 5 οὕτως ⟨ἐν⟩ ὀργῇ εἶχον οἱ πλείους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οἱ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπολυθῆναι βουλόμενοι, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἀρχθῶσι φοβούμενοι.

9 Παρασκευῇ μὲν οὖν καὶ γνώμῃ τοιαύτῃ ὥρμηντο πόλεις δὲ ἑκάτεροι τάσδε ἔχοντες ξυμμάχους ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθί- 25 2 σταντο. Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἵδε ξύμμαχοι· Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν οἱ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν (τούτοις δὲ ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φιλία ἦν· Πελληνῆς δὲ Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι ξυνεπολέμουν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἅπαντες), ἔξω δὲ Πελοποννήσου Μεγαρῆς, Βοιωτοί, Λοκροί, 30 3 Φωκῆς, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, Ἀνακτόριοι. τούτων ναυ-

6 δὲ Haacke : δὴ codd. 8 πᾶσα ABEF 10 ἐλέγοντο ABEF 21 ἐν add. Stephanus 30 φωκῆς λοκροὶ βοιωτοί ABEF

τικὸν παρείχοντο Κορίνθιοι, Μεγαρῆς, Σικυώνιοι, Πελληνῆς, Ἠλεῖοι, Ἀμπρακιῶται, Λευκάδιοι, ἱππέας δὲ Βοιωτοί, Φωκῆς, Λοκροί· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις πεζὸν παρεῖχον. αὗτη μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχία· Ἀθηναίων δὲ Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Πλαταιῆς, Μεσσήνιοι οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, Ἀκαρνάνων οἱ πλείους, Κερκυραῖοι, Ζακύνθιοι, καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ὑποτελεῖς οὖσαι ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε, Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Δωριῆς Καρσὶ πρόσοικοι, Ἰωνία, Ἑλλήσποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, πᾶσαι αἱ Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας. τούτων ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο Χῖοι, Λέσβιοι, Κερκυραῖοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πεζὸν καὶ χρήματα. ξυμμαχία μὲν αὕτη ἑκατέρων καὶ παρασκευὴ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς εὐθὺς περὶ ἥγγελλον κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἔξω ξυμμαχίδα στρατιὰν παρασκευάζεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσι τά τε ἐπιτήδεια οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ἔξοδον ἔκδημον ἔχειν, ὡς ἐσβαλοῦντες ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑκάστοις ἑτοῖμα γίγνοιτο, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν εἰρημένον ξυνῆσαν τὰ δύο μέρη ἀπὸ πόλεως ἑκάστης ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα ξυνειλεγμένον ἦν, Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅσπερ ἡγεῖτο τῆς ἐξόδου ταύτης, ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς τῶν πόλεων πασῶν καὶ τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει καὶ ἀξιολογωτάτους παρήνει τοιάδε.

'Ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν πολλὰς στρατείας καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ ἔξω ἐποιήσαντο, καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ πρεσβύτεροι οὐκ ἄπειροι πολέμων εἰσίν· ὅμως δὲ τῆσδε οὔπω μείζονα παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες ἐξήλθομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην νῦν

3 μὲν C [G] : om. cett. 10 post αἱ add. ἄλλαι A B E F [G] 15 ξυμμαχίαν A B E F 24 ἀξιωτάτους C (ω ex ο c) G παρῆνει Sintenis : παρεῖναι codd. post τοιάδε add. ἔλεξεν codd., del. Sintenis 25 post prius καὶ add. οἱ A B E F G alterum καὶ om. A B E F 27 αὐτῶν ἡμῶν A B E F

ἐρχόμεθα καὶ αὐτοὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι στρατεύοντες.
2 δίκαιον οὖν ἡμᾶς μήτε τῶν πατέρων χείρους φαίνεσθαι μήτε
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τῆς δόξης ἐνδεεστέρους. ἡ γὰρ Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα
τῇδε τῇ ὁρμῇ ἐπῆρται καὶ προσέχει τὴν γνώμην, εὔνοιαν
ἔχουσα διὰ τὸ Ἀθηναίων ἔχθος πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς ἃ ἐπινοοῦμεν. 5
3 οὔκουν χρή, εἴ τῳ καὶ δοκοῦμεν πλήθει ἐπιέναι καὶ ἀσφάλεια
πολλὴ εἶναι μὴ ἂν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς ἐναντίους ἡμῖν διὰ μάχης,
τούτων ἕνεκα ἀμελέστερόν τι παρεσκευασμένους χωρεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεως ἑκάστης ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατιώτην τὸ καθ'
4 αὐτὸν αἰεὶ προσδέχεσθαι ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἥξειν. ἄδηλα 10
γὰρ τὰ τῶν πολέμων, καὶ ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλὰ καὶ δι' ὀργῆς
αἱ ἐπιχειρήσεις γίγνονται· πολλάκις τε τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος
δεδιὸς ἄμεινον ἠμύνατο τοὺς πλέονας διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας
5 ἀπαρασκεύους γενέσθαι. χρὴ δὲ αἰεὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῇ μὲν
γνώμῃ θαρσαλέους στρατεύειν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ δεδιότας παρε- 15
σκευάσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ πρός τε τὸ ἐπιέναι τοῖς ἐναντίοις
εὐψυχότατοι ἂν εἶεν πρός τε τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖσθαι ἀσφαλέ-
6 στατοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδ' ἐπὶ ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι οὕτω πόλιν
ἐρχόμεθα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄριστα παρεσκευασμένην, ὥστε
χρὴ καὶ πάνυ ἐλπίζειν διὰ μάχης ἰέναι αὐτούς, εἰ μὴ καὶ 20
νῦν ὥρμηνται ἐν ᾧ οὔπω πάρεσμεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν τῇ γῇ
7 ὁρῶσιν ἡμᾶς δηοῦντάς τε καὶ τἀκείνων φθείροντας. πᾶσι
γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι
ἄηθες ὀργὴ προσπίπτει· καὶ οἱ λογισμῷ ἐλάχιστα χρώμενοι
8 θυμῷ πλεῖστα ἐς ἔργον καθίστανται. Ἀθηναίους δὲ καὶ 25
πλέον τι τῶν ἄλλων εἰκὸς τοῦτο δρᾶσαι, οἳ ἄρχειν τε τῶν
ἄλλων ἀξιοῦσι καὶ ἐπιόντες τὴν τῶν πέλας δηοῦν μᾶλλον ἢ
9 τὴν αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν. ὡς οὖν ἐπὶ τοσαύτην πόλιν στρατεύοντες
καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν οἰσόμενοι τοῖς τε προγόνοις καὶ ἡμῖν
αὐτοῖς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα ἐκ τῶν ἀποβαινόντων, ἔπεσθ' ὅπῃ ἄν 30
τις ἡγῆται, κόσμον καὶ φυλακὴν περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενοι καὶ

6 ἀσφάλεια πολλὴ recc.: ἀσφαλείᾳ πολλῇ codd. 8 τούτων C suprascr. G: τούτου cett. 15 παρεσκευάσθαι C (prius ε ex α c): παρασκευάζεσθαι cett. 28 ἑαυτῶν A B E F [G]

τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δεχόμενοι· κάλλιστον γὰρ τόδε καὶ ἀσφαλέστατον, πολλοὺς ὄντας ἑνὶ κόσμῳ χρωμένους φαίνεσθαι.'

Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ διαλύσας τὸν ξύλλογον ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος 12
Μελήσιππον πρῶτον ἀποστέλλει ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τὸν Διακρίτου ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην, εἴ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐνδοίεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὁρῶντες σφᾶς ἤδη ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντας. οἱ δὲ οὐ 2
προσεδέξαντο αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τὸ κοινόν· ἦν γὰρ Περικλέους γνώμη πρότερον νενικηκυῖα κήρυκα καὶ πρεσβείαν μὴ προσδέχεσθαι Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεστρατευμένων· ἀποπέμπουσιν οὖν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ ἐκέλευον ἐκτὸς ὅρων εἶναι αὐθημερόν, τό τε λοιπὸν ἀναχωρήσαντας ἐπὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν, ἤν τι βούλωνται, πρεσβεύεσθαι. ξυμπέμπουσί τε τῷ Μελησίππῳ ἀγωγούς, ὅπως μηδενὶ ξυγγένηται. ὁ δ' ἐπειδὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁρίοις ἐγένετο καὶ ἔμελλε 3
διαλύσεσθαι, τοσόνδε εἰπὼν ἐπορεύετο ὅτι 'ἤδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει.' ὡς δὲ ἀφίκετο ἐς τὸ 4
στρατόπεδον καὶ ἔγνω ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδέν πω ἐνδώσουσιν, οὕτω δὴ ἅρας τῷ στρατῷ προυχώρει ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ μέρος μὲν τὸ σφέτερον καὶ τοὺς 5
ἱππέας παρείχοντο Πελοποννησίοις ξυστρατεύειν, τοῖς δὲ λειπομένοις ἐς Πλάταιαν ἐλθόντες τὴν γῆν ἐδῄουν.

Ἔτι δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ξυλλεγομένων τε ἐς τὸν 13
Ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐσβαλεῖν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν, Περικλῆς ὁ Ξανθίππου στρατηγὸς ὢν Ἀθηναίων δέκατος αὐτός, ὡς ἔγνω τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐσομένην, ὑποτοπήσας, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος αὐτῷ ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανε, μὴ πολλάκις ἢ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ παραλίπῃ καὶ μὴ δῃώσῃ, ἢ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων κελευσάντων ἐπὶ διαβολῇ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γένηται τοῦτο, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ ἄγη ἐλαύνειν προεῖπον ἕνεκα ἐκείνου, προηγόρευε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ

7 ἤδη σφᾶς A B E F 10 δέχεσθαι C 11 post ἐκέλευον add. αὐτὸν C G 30 ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ A B E F

ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος μὲν οἱ ξένος εἴη, οὐ μέντοι ἐπὶ κακῷ γε τῆς πόλεως γένοιτο, τοὺς δὲ ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οἰκίας ἦν ἄρα μὴ δηώσωσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἀφήσειν αὐτὰ δημόσια εἶναι καὶ μηδεμίαν οἱ ὑποψίαν κατὰ 2 ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι. παρῄνει δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον, παρασκευάζεσθαί τε ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐσκομίζεσθαι, ἔς τε μάχην μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἀλλὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθόντας φυλάσσειν, καὶ τὸ ναυτικόν, ᾗπερ ἰσχύουσιν, ἐξαρτύεσθαι, τά τε τῶν ξυμμάχων διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν, λέγων τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρη- 10 μάτων τῆς προσόδου, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμῃ καὶ 3 χρημάτων περιουσίᾳ κρατεῖσθαι. θαρσεῖν τε ἐκέλευε προσιόντων μὲν ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ φόρου κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων τῇ πόλει ἄνευ τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου, ὑπαρχόντων δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἔτι τότε ἀργυρίου 15 ἐπισήμου ἑξακισχιλίων ταλάντων (τὰ γὰρ πλεῖστα τριακοσίων ἀποδέοντα μύρια ἐγένετο, ἀφ' ὧν ἔς τε τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τἆλλα οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἐς Ποτείδαιαν 4 ἀπανηλώθη), χωρὶς δὲ χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περί 20 τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικὰ καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον, οὐκ ἐλάσσονος ἢν ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων. 5 ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς χρήσεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἢν πάνυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς περικειμένοις χρυσίοις· 25 ἀπέφαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρυσίου ἀπέφθου, καὶ περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἅπαν. χρησαμένους τε ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ ἔφη χρῆναι μὴ ἐλάσσω ἀντικαταστῆσαι 6 πάλιν. χρήμασι μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐθάρσυνεν αὐτούς, ὁπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς 30 φρουρίοις καὶ τῶν παρ' ἔπαλξιν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. 7 τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι

22 ἦν secl. Abresch

ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπό τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὁπλῖται ἦσαν. τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα (ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους)· τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τείχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο· καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνιχίᾳ ἑξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ὂν ἥμισυ τούτου. ἱππέας δὲ ἀπέφαινε διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ξὺν 8 ἱπποτοξόταις, ἑξακοσίους δὲ καὶ χιλίους τοξότας, καὶ τριήρεις τὰς πλωίμους τριακοσίας. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν Ἀθη- 9 ναίοις καὶ οὐκ ἐλάσσω ἕκαστα τούτων, ὅτε ἡ ἐσβολὴ τὸ πρῶτον ἔμελλε Πελοποννησίων ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντο. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ ἄλλα οἷάπερ εἰώθει Περικλῆς ἐς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ.

Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἀνεπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐσεκομί- 14 ζοντο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἣ κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες τὴν ξύλωσιν· πρόβατα δὲ καὶ ὑποζύγια ἐς τὴν Εὔβοιαν διεπέμψαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐπικειμένας. χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς 2 ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο. ξυνεβεβήκει δὲ 15 ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἑτέρων μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίοις τοῦτο· ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾠκεῖτο πρυτανεῖά τε ἐχούσας καὶ ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὁπότε μή τι δείσειαν, οὐ ξυνῆσαν βουλευσόμενοι ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολίτευον καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο· καί τινες καὶ ἐπολέμησάν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ 2 Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς

21 ἐς om. CG codd. 26 τε om. CG 28 ἐπολιτεύοντο ABEFM ἐχούσας Bloomfield : ἔχουσα 30 καὶ om. CG

τά τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν, ἐν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνῴκισε πάντας, καὶ νεμομένους τὰ αὐτῶν ἑκάστους ἅπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἠνάγκασε μιᾷ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἣ ἀπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησέως τοῖς ἔπειτα· καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσιν. τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια [τῇ δωδεκάτῃ] ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτως σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένῃ, ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι· καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις. τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκήσει μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνῴκίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως οἱ πλείους τῶν τε ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες οὐ ῥᾳδίως παυοικεσίᾳ τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποι-

1 χώραν] πόλιν G M 8 τούτου A B E F M 11 post ἀκροπόλει lacunam statuit Classen, qui καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς addidit 14 τοῦ add. Cobet τῇ δωδεκάτῃ secl. Torstrik 18 σκευασάντων] κελευσάντων C G 20 ἐκεῖνοί Bekker: ἐκείνῃ codd. 24 δ' οὖν Krüger 25 μετεῖχον vix sanum, secl. Driessen 26 τε om. A B E F M [G] 28 παυοικεσίᾳ in codd. post πολέμου legitur : transp. Lipsius ἀναστάσεις C

οὗντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι ἀνειληφότες τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ
τὰ Μηδικά· ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε 2
καταλείποντες καὶ ἱερὰ ἃ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ
τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια, διαιτάν τε μέλλοντες μετα-
βάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπολείπων
ἕκαστος. ἐπειδή τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μέν τισιν 17
ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή,
οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἑρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ
καὶ τὰ ἡρῷα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου
καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν· τό τε Πελαργικὸν
καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ
οἰκεῖν καί τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε
διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς 'τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον,' ὅμως
ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξῳκήθη. καί μοι δοκεῖ τὸ 2
μαντεῖον τοὐναντίον ξυμβῆναι ἢ προσεδέχοντο· οὐ γὰρ διὰ
τὴν παράνομον ἐνοίκησιν αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει,
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἀνάγκη τῆς οἰκήσεως, ὃν οὐκ ὀνο-
μάζον τὸ μαντεῖον προῄδει μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτὲ αὐτὸ κατοι-
κισθησόμενον. κατεσκευάσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις 3
τῶν τειχῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ὡς ἕκαστός που ἐδύνατο· οὐ γὰρ
ἐχώρησε ξυνελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ' ὕστερον δὴ τά
τε μακρὰ τείχη ᾤκησαν κατανειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς
τὰ πολλά. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἥπτοντο, 4
ξυμμάχους τε ἀγείροντες καὶ τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἑκατὸν
νεῶν ἐπίπλουν ἐξαρτύοντες. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ παρα- 5
σκευῆς ἦσαν.

Ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προϊὼν ἀφίκετο τῆς 18
Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον, ἧπερ ἔμελλον ἐσβαλεῖν, καὶ
ὡς ἐκαθέζοντο, προσβολὰς παρεσκευάζοντο τῷ τείχει ποιη-
σόμενοι μηχαναῖς τε καὶ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ· ἡ γὰρ Οἰνόη οὖσα ἐν 2
μεθορίοις τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ Βοιωτίας ἐτετείχιστο, καὶ αὐτῷ

3 καταλείποντες recc.: καταλιπόντες codd. 6 τε] δὲ C G 10 et 13 Πελαργικὸν C: Πελασγικὸν cett. 15 ἦ A B 17 ὃ A (corr. A¹) B C E F 18 προῆδε Cobet

φρουρίῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐχρῶντο ὁπότε πόλεμος καταλάβοι. τάς τε οὖν προσβολὰς ηὐτρεπίζοντο καὶ ἄλλως ἐνδιέτριψαν χρόνον περὶ αὐτήν. αἰτίαν τε οὐκ ἐλαχίστην Ἀρχίδαμος ἔλαβεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, δοκῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου μαλακὸς εἶναι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτήδειος, οὐ παραινῶν προθύμως πολεμεῖν· ἐπειδή τε ξυνελέγετο ὁ στρατός, ἥ τε ἐν τῷ Ἰσθμῷ ἐπιμονὴ γενομένη καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν ἡ σχολαιότης διέβαλεν αὐτόν, μάλιστα δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Οἰνόῃ ἐπίσχεσις. οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, καὶ ἐδόκουν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπελθόντες ἂν διὰ τάχους πάντα ἔτι ἔξω καταλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου μέλλησιν. ἐν τοιαύτῃ μὲν ὀργῇ ὁ στρατὸς τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ εἶχεν. ὁ δὲ προσδεχόμενος, ὡς λέγεται, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς γῆς ἔτι ἀκεραίου οὔσης ἐνδώσειν τι καὶ κατοκνήσειν περιιδεῖν αὐτὴν τμηθεῖσαν, ἀνεῖχεν· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι προσβαλόντες τῇ Οἰνόῃ καὶ πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πειράσαντες οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἑλεῖν, οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι οὐδὲν ἐπεκηρυκεύοντο, οὕτω δὴ ὁρμήσαντες ἀπ' αὐτῆς μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ [τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων] γενόμενα ἡμέρᾳ ὀγδοηκοστῇ μάλιστα, θέρους καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἔτεμνον πρῶτον μὲν Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον καὶ τροπήν τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων περὶ τοὺς Ῥείτους καλουμένους ἐποιήσαντο· ἔπειτα προυχώρουν ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸ Αἰγάλεων ὄρος διὰ Κρωπιᾶς, ἕως ἀφίκοντο ἐς Ἀχαρνάς, χωρίον μέγιστον τῆς Ἀττικῆς τῶν δήμων καλουμένων, καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἐς αὐτὸ στρατόπεδόν τε ἐποιήσαντο χρόνου τε πολὺν ἐμμείναντες ἔτεμνον. γνώμῃ δὲ τοιᾷδε λέγεται τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον περί τε τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ὡς ἐς μάχην ταξάμενον μεῖναι καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ οὐ καταβῆναι· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἤλπιζεν, ἀκμά-

3 τε] δὲ C [G] 18 τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων secl. Classen
19 post μάλιστα add. τοῦ A B E F G M 26 χῶρον A B E F G¹ M
27 αὐτὸ vulgo : αὐτὸν codd.

ζοντας τε ἡσυχίᾳ πολλῇ καὶ παρεσκευασμένους ἐς πόλεμον
ὡς οὔπω πρότερον, ἴσως ἂν ἐπεξελθεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἂν
περιιδεῖν τμηθῆναι. ἐπειδὴ οὖν αὐτῷ ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὸ 3
Θριάσιον πεδίον οὐκ ἀπήντησαν, πεῖραν ἐποιεῖτο περὶ τὰς
Ἀχαρνὰς καθήμενος εἰ ἐπεξίασιν· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ 4
χῶρος ἐπιτήδειος ἐφαίνετο ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ
οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως (τρισχίλιοι γὰρ
ὁπλῖται ἐγένοντο) οὐ περιόψεσθαι ἐδόκουν τὰ σφέτερα δια-
φθαρέντα, ἀλλ' ὁρμήσειν καὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐς μάχην. εἴ τε
καὶ μὴ ἐπεξέλθοιεν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδεέστερον
ἤδη ἐς τὸ ὕστερον τό τε πεδίον τεμεῖν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν
πόλιν χωρήσεσθαι· τοὺς γὰρ Ἀχαρνέας ἐστερημένους τῶν
σφετέρων οὐχ ὁμοίως προθύμους ἔσεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν
ἄλλων κινδυνεύειν, στάσιν δ' ἐνέσεσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ. τοιαύτῃ 5
μὲν διανοίᾳ ὁ Ἀρχίδαμος περὶ τὰς Ἀχαρνὰς ἦν.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ μέχρι μὲν οὗ περὶ Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον 21
πεδίον ὁ στρατὸς ἦν, καί τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἐς τὸ ἐγγυτέρω
αὐτοὺς μὴ προϊέναι, μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα τὸν Παυ-
σανίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα, ὅτε ἐσβαλὼν τῆς Ἀττικῆς
ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Θριῶζε στρατῷ Πελοποννησίων πρὸ τοῦδε
τοῦ πολέμου τέσσαρσι καὶ δέκα ἔτεσιν ἀνεχώρησε πάλιν ἐς
τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι προελθών (δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο
ἐκ Σπάρτης δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι [τὴν ἀναχώρησιν])·
ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ Ἀχαρνὰς εἶδον τὸν στρατὸν ἑξήκοντα σταδίους 2
τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχοντα, οὐκέτι ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιοῦντο, ἀλλ'
αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἰκός, γῆς τεμνομένης ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ, ὃ οὔπω
ἑοράκεσαν οἵ γε νεώτεροι, οὐδ' οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πλὴν τὰ
Μηδικά, δεινὸν ἐφαίνετο καὶ ἐδόκει τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ
μάλιστα τῇ νεότητι ἐπεξιέναι καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν. κατὰ 3
ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι ἐν πολλῇ ἔριδι ἦσαν, οἱ μὲν κελεύ-
οντες ἐπεξιέναι, οἱ δέ τινες οὐκ ἐῶντες. χρησμολόγοι τε

11 τε C : om. cett. πρὸς] ἐς C 16 οὖν] οὖν A B F M [G]
22 δὴ om. C G 23 τὴν ἀναχώρησιν fort. non legit Schol., non
vertit Valla 31 ἐξιέναι A B E F M

ἥδον χρησμοὺς παντοίους, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρμητο. οἵ τε Ἀχαρνῆς οἰόμενοι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐλαχίστην μοῖραν εἶναι Ἀθηναίων, ὡς αὐτῶν ἡ γῆ ἐτέμνετο, ἐνῆγον τὴν ἔξοδον μάλιστα. παντί τε τρόπῳ ἀνηρέθιστο ἡ πόλις, καὶ τὸν Περικλέα ἐν ὀργῇ εἶχον, καὶ ὧν παρήνεσε πρότερον ἐμέμνηντο οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκάκιζον ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὢν οὐκ ἐπεξάγοι, αἴτιόν τε σφίσιν ἐνόμιζον πάντων ὧν ἔπασχον. Περικλῆς δὲ ὁρῶν μὲν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν χαλεπαίνοντας καὶ οὐ τὰ ἄριστα φρονοῦντας, πιστεύων δὲ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκειν περὶ τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι, ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ξύλλογον οὐδένα, τοῦ μὴ ὀργῇ τι μᾶλλον ἢ γνώμῃ ξυνελθόντας ἐξαμαρτεῖν, τήν τε πόλιν ἐφύλασσε καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας μάλιστα ὅσον ἐδύνατο εἶχεν. ἱππέας μέντοι ἐξέπεμπεν αἰεὶ τοῦ μὴ προδρόμους ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν· καὶ ἱππομαχία τις ἐγένετο βραχεῖα ἐν Φρυγίοις τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τέλει ἑνὶ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ Θεσσαλοῖς μετ' αὐτῶν πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτῶν ἱππέας, ἐν ᾗ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔσχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Θεσσαλοί, μέχρι οὗ προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τροπὴ ἐγένετο αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπέθανον τῶν Θεσσαλῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλοί· ἀνείλοντο μέντοι αὐτοὺς αὐθημερὸν ἀσπόνδους. καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔστησαν. ἡ δὲ βοήθεια αὕτη τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικὸν ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ἀφίκοντο παρ' αὐτοὺς Λαρισαῖοι, Φαρσάλιοι, [Παράσιοι], Κραννώνιοι, Πυράσιοι, Γυρτώνιοι, Φεραῖοι. ἡγοῦντο δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκ μὲν Λαρίσης Πολυμήδης καὶ Ἀριστόνους, ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἑκάτερος, ἐκ δὲ Φαρσάλου Μένων· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατὰ πόλεις ἄρχοντες.

Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐπεξῆσαν αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μάχην, ἄραντες ἐκ τῶν Ἀχαρνῶν ἐδῄουν τῶν

1 ἠκροᾶτο C G ὡς om. A B E F M γρ. G ὥργητο vel ὥργητο A B F M γρ. G Hesychius 15 ἐνεγένετο A B F M 25 Παράσιοι secl. Heringa Πυράσιοι recc. : Πειράσιοι codd. 27 ἑκατέρας Poppo (fort. legit Schol.)

δήμων τινὰς ἄλλους τῶν μεταξὺ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλησσοῦ ὄρους. ὄντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέστειλαν 2 τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἅσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ χιλίους ὁπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοξότας τετρακοσίους· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Καρκίνος τε ὁ Ξενοτίμου καὶ Πρωτέας ὁ Ἐπικλέους καὶ Σωκράτης ὁ Ἀντιγένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄραντες 3 τῇ παρασκευῇ ταύτῃ περιέπλεον, οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι χρόνον ἐμμείναντες ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὅσου εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνεχώρησαν διὰ Βοιωτῶν, οὐχ ἥπερ ἐσέβαλον· παριόντες δὲ Ὠρωπὸν τὴν γῆν τὴν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, ἐδῄωσαν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς Πελοπόννησον διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις ἕκαστοι.

Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλακὰς κατε- 24 στήσαντο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, ὥσπερ δὴ ἔμελλον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου φυλάξειν· καὶ χίλια τάλαντα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει χρημάτων ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς ἐξαίρετα ποιησαμένοις χωρὶς θέσθαι καὶ μὴ ἀναλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πολεμεῖν· ἢν δέ τις εἴπῃ ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα ἐς ἄλλο τι, ἢν μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι νηίτῃ στρατῷ ἐπιπλέωσι τῇ πόλει καὶ δέῃ ἀμύνασθαι, θάνατον ζημίαν ἐπέθεντο. τριήρεις τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἐξαιρέτους ἑκατὸν ἐποιή- 2 σαντο κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον τὰς βελτίστας, καὶ τριηράρχους αὐταῖς, ὧν μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδεμιᾷ ἐς ἄλλο τι ἢ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ κινδύνου, ἢν δέῃ.

Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι 25 καὶ Κερκυραῖοι μετ' αὐτῶν πεντήκοντα ναυσὶ προσβεβοηθηκότες καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχων ἄλλα τε ἐκάκουν περιπλέοντες καὶ ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς ἀποβάντες τῷ τείχει προσέβαλον ὄντι ἀσθενεῖ καὶ ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων. ἔτυχε δὲ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους Βρασίδας ὁ Τέλλιδος 2 ἀνὴρ Σπαρτιάτης φρουρὰν ἔχων καὶ αἰσθόμενος ἐβοήθει

10 Γραϊκὴν Steph. Byz.: Πειραϊκὴν codd. 21 ἑκατὸν ἐξαιρέτους ΑΒΕF: ἑκατὸν om. M 22 ἕκαστον] ἑκατὸν M

τοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ μετὰ ὁπλιτῶν ἑκατόν. διαδραμὼν δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατόπεδον ἐσκεδασμένον κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον ἐσπίπτει ἐς τὴν Μεθώνην καὶ ὀλίγους τινὰς ἐν τῇ ἐσδρομῇ ἀπολέσας τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ τήν τε πόλιν περιεποίησε καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τοῦ τολμήματος 5
3 πρῶτος τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηνέθη ἐν Σπάρτῃ. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄραντες παρέπλεον, καὶ σχόντες τῆς Ἠλείας ἐς Φειὰν ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας καὶ προσβοηθήσαντας τῶν ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Ἤλιδος τριακοσίους λογάδας καὶ τῶν
4 αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικίδος Ἠλείων μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν. ἀνέ- 10
μου δὲ κατιόντος μεγάλου χειμαζόμενοι ἐν ἀλιμένῳ χωρίῳ, οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐπέβησαν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ περιέπλεον τὸν Ἰχθῦν καλούμενον τὴν ἄκραν ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ Φειᾷ λιμένα, οἱ δὲ Μεσσήνιοι ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς οἱ οὐ δυνάμενοι
5 ἐπιβῆναι κατὰ γῆν χωρήσαντες τὴν Φειὰν αἱροῦσιν. καὶ 15
ὕστερον αἵ τε νῆες περιπλεύσασαι ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐξανάγονται ἐκλιπόντες Φειάν, καὶ τῶν Ἠλείων ἡ πολλὴ ἤδη στρατιὰ προσεβεβοηθήκει. παραπλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ ἄλλα χωρία ἐδῄουν.

26 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοῦτον Ἀθηναῖοι τριάκοντα 20
ναυσὶ ἐξέπεμψαν περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα καὶ Εὐβοίας ἅμα φυλα-
2 κήν· ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Κλεόπομπος ὁ Κλεινίου. καὶ ἀποβάσεις ποιησάμενος τῆς τε παραθαλασσίου ἔστιν ἃ ἐδῄωσε καὶ Θρόνιον εἷλεν, ὁμήρους τε ἔλαβεν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐν Ἀλόπῃ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν μάχῃ ἐκράτησεν. 25

27 Ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινήτας τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ ἐξ Αἰγίνης Ἀθηναῖοι, αὐτούς τε καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπι-
καλέσαντες οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι· καὶ τὴν Αἴγιναν ἀσφαλέστερον ἐφαίνετο τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ ἐπικειμένην αὐτῶν πέμψαντας ἐποίκους ἔχειν. καὶ ἐξ- 30
2 έπεμψαν ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ ἐς αὐτὴν τοὺς οἰκήτορας. ἐκ-

4 ἑαυτοῦ A B F M [G] 6 πρώτου Herwerden 15 τὴν om. C G 17 ἐκλείποντες C G 20 post τοῦτον add. οἱ A B F M 21 καὶ] κατ' Madvig

πεσοῦσι δὲ τοῖς Αἰγινήταις οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἔρρωσαν Θυρέαν οἰκεῖν καὶ τὴν γῆν νέμεσθαι, κατά τε τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον καὶ ὅτι σφῶν εὐεργέται ἦσαν ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμὸν καὶ τῶν Εἱλώτων τὴν ἐπανάστασιν. ἡ δὲ Θυρεᾶτις γῆ μεθορία τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ Λακωνικῆς ἐστίν, ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καθήκουσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐνταῦθα ᾤκησαν, οἱ δ' ἐσπάρησαν κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην Ἑλλάδα.

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους νουμηνίᾳ κατὰ σελήνην, ὥσπερ καὶ μόνον δοκεῖ εἶναι γίγνεσθαι ἐνιαυτόν, ὁ ἥλιος ἐξέλιπε μετὰ μεσημβρίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀνεπληρώθη, γενόμενος μηνοειδὴς καὶ ἀστέρων τινῶν ἐκφανέντων. 28

Καὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει Νυμφόδωρον τὸν Πύθεω ἄνδρα Ἀβδηρίτην, οὗ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφὴν Σιτάλκης, ὑνούμενον παρ' αὐτῷ μέγα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρότερον πολέμιον νομίζοντες πρόξενον ἐποιήσαντο καὶ μετεπέμψαντο, βουλόμενοι Σιτάλκην σφίσι τὸν Τήρεω, Θρᾳκῶν βασιλέα, ξύμμαχον γενέσθαι. ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς ἄλλης Θρᾴκης ἐποίησεν· πολὺ γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομόν ἐστι Θρᾳκῶν. Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην τὴν Πανδίονος ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν σχόντι γυναῖκα προσήκει ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδέν, οὐδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς Θρᾴκης ἐγένοντο, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἐν Δαυλίᾳ τῆς Φωκίδος νῦν καλουμένης γῆς [ὁ Τηρεὺς] ᾤκει, τότε ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν οἰκουμένης, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ περὶ τὸν Ἴτυν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ ἔπραξαν (πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἐν ἀηδόνος μνήμῃ Δαυλιὰς ἡ ὄρνις ἐπωνόμασται), εἰκός τε καὶ τὸ κῆδος Πανδίονα ξυνάψασθαι τῆς θυγατρὸς διὰ τοσούτου ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μᾶλλον ἢ διὰ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ἐς Ὀδρύσας ὁδοῦ. Τήρης δὲ οὐδὲ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἔχων βασιλεύς [τε] πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν ἐγένετο. οὗ δὴ ὄντα τὸν Σιτάλκην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξύμμαχον ἐποιοῦντο, βουλόμενοι σφίσι τὰ ἐπὶ 29 4

21 προσῆκεν C G 23 ὁ Τηρεὺς non legit Schol. 26 τε] δὲ A B E F M 29 οὐδὲ B : οὔτε cett. τε secl. Classen 31 ἐποιήσαντο A B E F M

Θρᾴκης χωρία καὶ Περδίκκαν ξυνεξελεῖν αὐτόν. ἐλθών τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Νυμφόδωρος τήν τε τοῦ Σιτάλκου ξυμμαχίαν ἐποίησε καὶ Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον τόν τε ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης πόλεμον ὑπεδέχετο καταλύσειν· πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμπειν στρατιὰν Θρᾳκίαν Ἀθηναίοις ἱππέων τε καὶ πελταστῶν. ξυνεβίβασε δὲ καὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Θέρμην αὐτῷ ἔπεισεν ἀποδοῦναι· ξυνεστράτευσέ τε εὐθὺς Περδίκκας ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας μετὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Φορμίωνος. οὕτω μὲν Σιτάλκης τε ὁ Τήρεω Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς ξύμμαχος ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Περδίκκας ὁ Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς.

30 Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι ὄντες περὶ Πελοπόννησον Σόλλιόν τε Κορινθίων πόλισμα αἱροῦσι καὶ παραδιδόασι Παλαιρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μόνοις τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν νέμεσθαι· καὶ Ἀστακόν, ἧς Εὔαρχος ἐτυράννει, λαβόντες κατὰ κράτος καὶ ἐξελάσαντες αὐτὸν τὸ χωρίον ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προσεποιήσαντο. ἐπί τε Κεφαλληνίαν τὴν νῆσον προσπλεύσαντες προσηγάγοντο ἄνευ μάχης· κεῖται δὲ ἡ Κεφαλληνία κατὰ Ἀκαρνανίαν καὶ Λευκάδα τετράπολις οὖσα, Παλῆς, Κράνιοι, Σαμαῖοι, Προννᾶοι. ὕστερον δ' οὐ πολλῷ ἀνεχώρησαν αἱ νῆες ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας.

31 Περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρους τούτου Ἀθηναῖοι πανδημεί, αὐτοὶ καὶ οἱ μέτοικοι, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα Περικλέους τοῦ Ξανθίππου στρατηγοῦντος. καὶ οἱ περὶ Πελοπόννησον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν (ἔτυχον γὰρ ἤδη ἐν Αἰγίνῃ ὄντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνακομιζόμενοι) ὡς ἤσθοντο τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως πανστρατιᾷ ἐν Μεγάροις ὄντας, ἔπλευσαν παρ' αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυνεμείχθησαν. στρατόπεδόν τε μέγιστον δὴ τοῦτο ἀθρόον Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο, ἀκμαζούσης ἔτι τῆς πόλεως καὶ οὔπω νενοσηκυίας· μυρίων γὰρ ὁπλιτῶν οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἦσαν αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι (χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς οἱ ἐν

1 ξυνελεῖν A B E F M 5 πέμψειν A B E F M 7 ξυνεστράτευέ C G 18 πλεύσαντες A B 25 post Ἀθηναῖοι add. οἱ Krüger 26 ἤδη C : om. cett. 31 post αὐτοὶ add. οἱ C G

Ποτειδαίᾳ τρισχίλιοι ἦσαν), μέτοικοι δὲ ξυνεσέβαλον οὐκ ἐλάσσους τρισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ψιλῶν οὐκ ὀλίγος. δῃώσαντες δὲ τὰ πολλὰ τῆς γῆς ἀνεχώρησαν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὕστερον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ 3
5 κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐσβολαὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐς τὴν Μεγαρίδα καὶ ἱππέων καὶ πανστρατιᾷ, μέχρι οὗ Νίσαια ἑάλω ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων.

Ἐτειχίσθη δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντη ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων φρούριον 32
τοῦ θέρους τούτου τελευτῶντος, ἡ ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς τοῖς Ὀπουν-
10 τίοις νῆσος ἐρήμη πρότερον οὖσα, τοῦ μὴ λῃστὰς ἐκπλέοντας ἐξ Ὀποῦντος καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Λοκρίδος κακουργεῖν τὴν Εὔβοιαν.

Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ μετὰ τὴν Πελοποννησίων ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀναχώρησιν ἐγένετο. τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου 33
15 χειμῶνος Εὔαρχος ὁ Ἀκαρνὰν βουλόμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀστακὸν κατελθεῖν πείθει Κορινθίους τεσσαράκοντα ναυσὶ καὶ πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ὁπλίταις ἑαυτὸν κατάγειν πλεύσαντας, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπικούρους τινὰς προσεμισθώσατο· ἦρχον δὲ τῆς στρατιᾶς Εὐφαμίδας τε ὁ Ἀριστωνύμου καὶ Τιμόξενος ὁ
20 Τιμοκράτους καὶ Εὔμαχος ὁ Χρύσιδος. καὶ πλεύσαντες 2
κατήγαγον· καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἀκαρνανίας τῆς περὶ θάλασσαν ἔστιν ἃ χωρία βουλόμενοι προσποιήσασθαι καὶ πειραθέντες, ὡς οὐκ ἐδύναντο, ἀπέπλεον ἐπ' οἴκου. σχόντες δ' ἐν τῷ 3
παράπλῳ ἐς Κεφαλληνίαν καὶ ἀπόβασιν ποιησάμενοι ἐς τὴν
25 Κρανίων γῆν, ἀπατηθέντες ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξ ὁμολογίας τινὸς ἄνδρας τε ἀποβάλλουσι σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπιθεμένων ἀπροσδοκήτοις τῶν Κρανίων, καὶ βιαιότερον ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐκομίσθησαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

Ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χειμῶνι Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πατρίῳ νόμῳ χρώ- 34
30 μενοι δημοσίᾳ ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο τῶν ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρώτων ἀποθανόντων τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τὰ μὲν ὀστᾶ προτί- 2

26 ἀπροσδοκήτως C G 29 post χειμῶνι add. οἱ A B E F M
31 πρώτων a, ut videtur (coni. Cobet) : πρῶτον codd.

θεινται τῶν ἀπογενομένων πρότριτα σκηνὴν ποιήσαντες, καὶ
3 ἐπιφέρει τῷ αὐτοῦ ἕκαστος ἤν τι βούληται· ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἡ
ἐκφορὰ ᾖ, λάρνακας κυπαρισσίνας ἄγουσιν ἅμαξαι, φυλῆς
ἑκάστης μίαν· ἔνεστι δὲ τὰ ὀστᾶ ἧς ἕκαστος ἦν φυλῆς.
μία δὲ κλίνη κενὴ φέρεται ἐστρωμένη τῶν ἀφανῶν, οἳ ἂν 5
4 μὴ εὑρεθῶσιν ἐς ἀναίρεσιν. ξυνεκφέρει δὲ ὁ βουλόμενος
καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων, καὶ γυναῖκες πάρεισιν αἱ προσήκουσαι
5 ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον ὀλοφυρόμεναι. τιθέασιν οὖν ἐς τὸ δημόσιον
σῆμα, ὅ ἐστιν ἐπὶ τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου τῆς πόλεως,
καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν αὐτῷ θάπτουσι τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, πλήν γε 10
τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι· ἐκείνων δὲ διαπρεπῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν κρίναντες
6 αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ κρύψωσι γῇ,
ἀνὴρ ᾑρημένος ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ὃς ἂν γνώμῃ τε δοκῇ μὴ
ἀξύνετος εἶναι καὶ ἀξιώσει προήκῃ, λέγει ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἔπαινον
7 τὸν πρέποντα· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀπέρχονται. ὧδε μὲν θάπτουσιν· 15
καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου, ὁπότε ξυμβαίη αὐτοῖς, ἐχρῶντο
8 τῷ νόμῳ. ἐπὶ δ' οὖν τοῖς πρώτοις τοῖσδε Περικλῆς ὁ Ξαν-
θίππου ᾑρέθη λέγειν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προελθὼν
ἀπὸ τοῦ σήματος ἐπὶ βῆμα ὑψηλὸν πεποιημένον, ὅπως ἀκού-
οιτο ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ ὁμίλου, ἔλεγε τοιάδε. 20

35 Οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε ἤδη εἰρηκότων ἐπαινοῦσι τὸν
προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε, ὡς καλὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ
τῶν πολέμων θαπτομένοις ἀγορεύεσθαι αὐτόν. ἐμοὶ δὲ
ἀρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων
ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμάς, οἷα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τάφον 25
τόνδε δημοσίᾳ παρασκευασθέντα ὁρᾶτε, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ
πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πι-
2 στευθῆναι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ
ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται. ὅ τε γὰρ ξυνειδὼς καὶ
εὔνους ἀκροατὴς τάχ' ἄν τι ἐνδεέστερος πρὸς ἃ βούλεταί τε 30
καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι, ὅ τε ἄπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ

3 post ἅμαξαι add. δέκα Gertz
μὲν add. οὖν C G (in G erasum)
om. C G
18 καιρὸν A B
εἰρηκότων ἤδη A B E F M
21 post
26 ἐν

πλεονάζεσθαι, διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι. μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἐπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσεν· τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι οὕτως ἐδοκιμάσθη 3
ταῦτα καλῶς ἔχειν, χρὴ καὶ ἐμὲ ἑπόμενον τῷ νόμῳ πειρᾶσθαι ὑμῶν τῆς ἑκάστου βουλήσεώς τε καὶ δόξης τυχεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον.

'Ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον· δίκαιον γὰρ 36
αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι. τὴν γὰρ χώραν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ οἰκοῦντες διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι' ἀρετὴν παρέδοσαν. καὶ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἄξιοι ἐπαίνου καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οἱ 2
πατέρες ἡμῶν· κτησάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσην ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀπόνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον. τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἵδε οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες μάλιστα 3
ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ ἐπηυξήσαμεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς πᾶσι παρεσκευάσαμεν καὶ ἐς πόλεμον καὶ ἐς εἰρήνην αὐταρκεστάτην. ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πολέμους ἔργα, οἷς ἕκαστα 4
ἐκτήθη, ἢ εἴ τι αὐτοὶ ἢ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν βάρβαρον ἢ Ἕλληνα πολέμιον ἐπιόντα προθύμως ἠμυνάμεθα, μακρηγορεῖν ἐν εἰδόσιν οὐ βουλόμενος ἐάσω· ἀπὸ δὲ οἵας τε ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτὰ καὶ μεθ' οἵας πολιτείας καὶ τρόπων ἐξ οἵων μεγάλα ἐγένετο, ταῦτα δηλώσας πρῶτον εἶμι καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν τῶνδε ἔπαινον, νομίζων ἐπί τε τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ἂν ἀπρεπῆ λεχθῆναι αὐτὰ καὶ τὸν πάντα ὅμιλον καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων ξύμφορον εἶναι ἐπακοῦσαι αὐτῶν.

'Χρώμεθα γὰρ πολιτείᾳ οὐ ζηλούσῃ τοὺς τῶν πέλας 37
νόμους, παράδειγμα δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ ὄντες τισὶν ἢ μιμούμενοι ἑτέρους. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ'

1 ἑαυτοῦ A B E F M 4 αὐτῶν E F¹ m Dion. Hal. Schol. : αὐτὸν cett. 11 ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ A B E F M 21 πολέμιον Haase : πόλεμον codd., secl. Dobree 23 ἦλθον A B F M Dion. Hal. 27 αὐτῶν ἐπακοῦσαι A B E F M 29 τινὶ A B E F M

ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται· μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἔν τῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλέον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται, οὐδ' αὖ κατὰ πενίαν, ἔχων γέ τι ἀγαθὸν δρᾶσαι τὴν πόλιν, ἀξιώ-
2 ματος ἀφανείᾳ κεκώλυται. ἐλευθέρως δὲ τά τε πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν πολιτεύομεν καὶ ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν, οὐ δι' ὀργῆς τὸν πέλας, εἰ καθ' ἡδονήν τι δρᾷ, ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μέν, λυπηρὰς δὲ
3 τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι. ἀνεπαχθῶς δὲ τὰ ἴδια προσομιλοῦντες τὰ δημόσια διὰ δέος μάλιστα οὐ παρανομοῦμεν, τῶν τε αἰεὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντων ἀκροᾶσει καὶ τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσιν.

38 'Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν πόνων πλείστας ἀναπαύλας τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπορισάμεθα, ἀγῶσι μέν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες, ἰδίαις δὲ κατασκευαῖς εὐπρεπέσιν, ὧν καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις
2 τὸ λυπηρὸν ἐκπλήσσει. ἐπεσέρχεται δὲ διὰ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως ἐκ πάσης γῆς τὰ πάντα, καὶ ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν μηδὲν οἰκειοτέρᾳ τῇ ἀπολαύσει τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καρποῦσθαι ἢ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων.

39 'Διαφέρομεν δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν πολεμικῶν μελέταις τῶν ἐναντίων τοῖσδε. τήν τε γὰρ πόλιν κοινὴν παρέχομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτε ξενηλασίαις ἀπείργομέν τινα ἢ μαθήματος ἢ θεάματος, ὃ μὴ κρυφθὲν ἄν τις τῶν πολεμίων ἰδὼν ὠφεληθείη, πιστεύοντες οὐ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς τὸ πλέον καὶ ἀπάταις ἢ τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ ἔργα εὐψύχῳ· καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν
2 ἧσσον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν. τεκμήριον

1 οἰκεῖν] ἧκειν suprascr. c G 4 τὰ πλέω C G 5 γέ Reiske : δέ codd. 31 κινδύνους ἰσοπαλεῖς Usener τεκμήριον—c. 42. 3 τἆλλα suppl. m fol. xl

δέ· οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑαυτούς, μεθ' ἁπάντων δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύουσι, τήν τε τῶν πέλας αὐτοὶ ἐπελθόντες οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ τοὺς περὶ τῶν οἰκείων ἀμυνομένους μαχόμενοι τὰ πλείω κρατοῦμεν. ἀθρόᾳ 3 τε τῇ δυνάμει ἡμῶν οὐδείς πω πολέμιος ἐνέτυχε διὰ τὴν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τε ἅμα ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπίπεμψιν· ἢν δέ που μέρει τινὶ προσμείξωσι, κρατήσαντές τέ τινας ἡμῶν πάντας αὐχοῦσιν ἀπεῶσθαι καὶ νικηθέντες ὑφ' ἁπάντων ἠσσῆσθαι. καίτοι εἰ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ μᾶλ- 4 λον ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλέον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας ἐθέλομεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τῶν αἰεὶ μοχθούντων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἔν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις.

Φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν 40 ἄνευ μαλακίας· πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα, καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἴσχιον. ἔνι τε τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἰκείων 2 ἅμα καὶ πολιτικῶν ἐπιμέλεια, καὶ ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις τὰ πολιτικὰ μὴ ἐπαΐειν γνῶναι· μόνοι γὰρ τόν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα, ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν, καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα, οὐ τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἔργοις βλάβην ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ προδιδαχθῆναι μᾶλλον λόγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐπὶ ἃ δεῖ ἔργῳ ἐλθεῖν. διαφέροντος γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν ὥστε 3 τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι· ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει. κράτιστοι δ' ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν δικαίως κριθεῖεν

1 ἑαυτούς] *per se tantum* Valla : ἑκάστους codd. μετὰ πάντων A B E F [G] 8 τέ om. C G 11 ἐθέλομεν A B E F Dion. Hal. 13 ἀτολμοτέροις f suprascr. G Dion. Hal. 16 τε om. A B F 19 ἔνι] ἔν A B E F 20 ἑτέροις] ἕτερα Classen : ἑτέροις ἕτερα Richards 23 οἱ om. A B E F 29 τὴν om. C Stobaeus

οἱ τά τε δεινὰ καὶ ἡδέα σαφέστατα γιγνώσκοντες καὶ διὰ
4 ταῦτα μὴ ἀποτρεπόμενοι ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων. καὶ τὰ ἐς ἀρε-
τὴν ἐνηντιώμεθα τοῖς πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ πάσχοντες εὖ, ἀλλὰ
δρῶντες κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους. βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας
τὴν χάριν ὥστε ὀφειλομένην διὶ εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε σῴζειν· 5
ὁ δὲ ἀντοφείλων ἀμβλύτερος, εἰδὼς οὐκ ἐς χάριν, ἀλλ' ἐς
5 ὀφείλημα τὴν ἀρετὴν ἀποδώσων. καὶ μόνοι οὐ τοῦ ξυμφέ-
ροντος μᾶλλον λογισμῷ ἢ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ ἀδεῶς
τινὰ ὠφελοῦμεν.

41 Ξυνελών τε λέγω τήν τε πᾶσαν πόλιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος 10
παίδευσιν εἶναι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον δοκεῖν ἄν μοι τὸν αὐτὸν
ἄνδρα παρ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' ἂν εἴδη καὶ μετὰ χαρίτων
2 μάλιστ' ἂν εὐτραπέλως τὸ σῶμα αὔταρκες παρέχεσθαι. καὶ
ὡς οὐ λόγων ἐν τῷ παρόντι κόμπος τάδε μᾶλλον ἢ ἔργων
ἐστὶν ἀλήθεια, αὐτὴ ἡ δύναμις τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἀπὸ τῶνδε 15
3 τῶν τρόπων ἐκτησάμεθα, σημαίνει. μόνη γὰρ τῶν νῦν
ἀκοῆς κρείσσων ἐς πεῖραν ἔρχεται, καὶ μόνη οὔτε τῷ πολε-
μίῳ ἐπελθόντι ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει ὑφ' οἵων κἀκοπαθεῖ οὔτε
4 τῷ ὑπηκόῳ κατάμεμψιν ὡς οὐχ ὑπ' ἀξίων ἄρχεται. μετὰ
μεγάλων δὲ σημείων καὶ οὐ δή τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε τὴν δύναμιν 20
παρασχόμενοι τοῖς τε νῦν καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα θαυμασθησόμεθα,
καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου οὔτε ὅστις
ἔπεσι μὲν τὸ αὐτίκα τέρψει, τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἡ
ἀλήθεια βλάψει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν καὶ γῆν ἐσβατὸν
τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τόλμῃ καταναγκάσαντες γενέσθαι, πανταχοῦ δὲ 25
5 μνημεῖα κακῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀίδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες. περὶ
τοιαύτης οὖν πόλεως οἵδε τε γενναίως δικαιοῦντες μὴ ἀφαι-
ρεθῆναι αὐτὴν μαχόμενοι ἐτελεύτησαν, καὶ τῶν λειπομένων
πάντα τινὰ εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς κάμνειν.

42 Δι' ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐμήκυνα τὰ περὶ τῆς πόλεως, διδασκαλίαν 30
τε ποιούμενος μὴ περὶ ἴσου ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ οἷς

3 ἐνηντιώμεθα Rutherford : ἠναντιώμεθα codd. : ἠντιώμεθα Hesychius 12 ἡμῖν Cobet 15 αὕτη C [G] 22 καὶ secl. Krüger 26 ἀίδια] ἰδίᾳ A B E F

τῶνδε μηδὲν ὑπάρχει ὁμοίως, καὶ τὴν εὐλογίαν ἅμα ἐφ' οἷς νῦν λέγω φανερὰν σημείοις καθιστάς. καὶ εἴρηται αὐτῆς 2 τὰ μέγιστα· ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν πολλοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἰσόρροπος ὥσπερ τῶνδε ὁ λόγος τῶν ἔργων φανείη. δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν πρώτη τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαιοῦσα ἡ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφή. καὶ γὰρ 3 τοῖς τἆλλα χείροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν προτίθεσθαι· ἀγαθῷ γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔβλαψαν. τῶνδε δὲ οὔτε πλούτου τις τὴν ἔτι ἀπόλαυσιν προτιμήσας 4 ἐμαλακίσθη οὔτε πενίας ἐλπίδι, ὡς καὶ ἔτι διαφυγὼν αὐτὴν πλουτήσειεν, ἀναβολὴν τοῦ δεινοῦ ἐποιήσατο· τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες ἐβουλήθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι, ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὁρωμένου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ [τὸ] ἐνδόντες σῴζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπεμείναν καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.

Καὶ οἵδε μὲν προσηκόντως τῇ πόλει τοιοίδε ἐγένοντο· 43 τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς χρὴ ἀσφαλεστέραν μὲν εὔχεσθαι, ἀτολμοτέραν δὲ μηδὲν ἀξιοῦν τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους διάνοιαν ἔχειν, σκοποῦντας μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ τὴν ὠφελίαν, ἣν ἄν τις πρὸς οὐδὲν χεῖρον αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς εἰδότας μηκύνοι, λέγων ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι ἀγαθὰ ἔνεστιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καθ' ἡμέραν ἔργῳ θεωμένους καὶ ἐραστὰς γιγνομένους αὐτῆς, καὶ ὅταν ὑμῖν μεγάλη δόξῃ εἶναι,

5 τῷ ἔργῳ Dobree 11 πλούτῳ A B E F M 16 ἀφίεσθαι Poppo 19 τῷ C G Dion. Hal. : τὸ cett. Schol. μᾶλλον] κάλλιον Dobree τὸ om. Dion. Hal. 25 πολέμους C [G] 26 post ἄν add. τι Krüger

ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι τολμῶντες καὶ γιγνώσκοντες τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις αἰσχυνόμενοι ἄνδρες αὐτὰ ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ ὁπότε καὶ πείρᾳ του σφαλεῖεν, οὐκ οὖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον
2 αὐτῇ προϊέμενοι. κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγήρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον, οὐκ ἐν ᾧ κεῖνται μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἡ δόξα αὐτῶν παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ αἰείμνηστος κατα-
3 λείπεται. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος, καὶ οὐ στηλῶν μόνον ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ σημαίνει ἐπιγραφή, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ μὴ προσηκούσῃ ἄγραφος μνήμη παρ' ἑκάστῳ τῆς γνώμης
4 μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου ἐνδιαιτᾶται. οὓς νῦν ὑμεῖς ζηλώσαντες καὶ τὸ εὔδαιμον τὸ ἐλεύθερον, τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον τὸ εὔψυχον
5 κρίναντες μὴ περιορᾶσθε τοὺς πολεμικοὺς κινδύνους. οὐ γὰρ οἱ κακοπραγοῦντες δικαιότερον ἀφειδοῖεν ἂν τοῦ βίου, οἷς ἐλπὶς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύεται καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστα μεγάλα τὰ
6 διαφέροντα, ἤν τι πταίσωσιν. ἀλγεινοτέρα γὰρ ἀνδρί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἡ μετὰ τοῦ [illegible]μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος.

44 Δι' ὅπερ καὶ τοὺς τῶνδε νῦν τοκέας, ὅσοι πάρεστε, οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι. ἐν πολυτρόποις γὰρ ξυμφοραῖς ἐπίστανται τραφέντες· τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἷ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἵδε μὲν νῦν, τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς
2 δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαί τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη. χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὅν, ὧν καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις, αἷς ποτὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠγάλλεσθε· καὶ λύπη οὐχ ὧν ἄν τις μὴ πειρασάμενος ἀγαθῶν στερίσκηται, ἀλλ' οὗ ἂν ἐθὰς γενό-
3 μενος ἀφαιρεθῇ. καρτερεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ ἄλλων παίδων ἐλπίδι,

7 ἀλλ'] ἢ CG 16 ἔστ' ABEFM 19 ἐν τῷ secl. Bredow: ἐν τῷ μετὰ τοῦ ABEFM 20 ἅμα τε γιγνόμενος καὶ CG 30 πειρασάμενος g: πειρασόμενος codd.

οἷς ἔτι ἡλικία τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι· ἰδίᾳ τε γὰρ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων λήθη οἱ ἐπιγιγνόμενοί τισιν ἔσονται, καὶ τῇ πόλει διχόθεν, ἔκ τε τοῦ μὴ ἐρημοῦσθαι καὶ ἀσφαλείᾳ, ξυνοίσει· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλεύεσθαι οἳ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν. ὅσοι δ' αὖ παρηβήκατε, τόν τε πλέονα κέρδος ὂν ηὐτυχεῖτε βίον ἡγεῖσθε καὶ τόνδε βραχὺν ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῇ τῶνδε εὐκλείᾳ κουφίζεσθε. τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον ἀγήρων μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἀχρείῳ τῆς ἡλικίας τὸ κερδαίνειν, ὥσπερ τινές φασι, μᾶλλον τέρπει, ἀλλὰ τὸ τιμᾶσθαι. παισὶ δ' αὖ ὅσοι τῶνδε πάρεστε ἢ ἀδελφοῖς ὁρῶ μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα (τὸν γὰρ οὐκ ὄντα ἅπας εἴωθεν ἐπαινεῖν), καὶ μόλις ἂν καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς οὐχ ὁμοῖοι, ἀλλ' ὀλίγῳ χείρους κριθεῖτε. φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀνταγωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται. εἰ δέ με δεῖ καὶ γυναικείας τι ἀρετῆς, ὅσαι νῦν ἐν χηρείᾳ ἔσονται, μνησθῆναι, βραχείᾳ παραινέσει ἅπαν σημανῶ. τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἡ δόξα καὶ ἧς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ.

'Εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὅσα εἶχον πρόσφορα, καὶ ἔργῳ οἱ θαπτόμενοι τὰ μὲν ἤδη κεκόσμηνται, τὸ δὲ αὐτῶν τοὺς παῖδας τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε δημοσίᾳ ἡ πόλις μέχρι ἥβης θρέψει, ὠφέλιμον στέφανον τοῖσδέ τε καὶ τοῖς λειπομένοις τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων προτιθεῖσα· ἆθλα γὰρ οἷς κεῖται ἀρετῆς μέγιστα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἄνδρες ἄριστοι πολιτεύουσιν. νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν προσήκει ἑκάστῳ ἄπιτε.

Τοιόσδε μὲν ὁ τάφος ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι τούτῳ· καὶ διελθόντος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἔτος τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐτελεύτα. τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τὰ δύο μέρη ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν

1 τὲ (sic) γὰρ M : γάρ τε cett. 4 καὶ μὴ A B E F 12 πᾶς C [G] 14 τὸν C E [G] 22 τδ] τὰ A B E F M 24 προστιθεῖσα C G 26 ἕκαστος A B E F G M ἀποχωρεῖτε A B E F M 28 τούτου C γρ. G τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ G

'Αττικήν (ἡγεῖτο δὲ 'Αρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου Λακεδαι-
3 μονίων βασιλεύς), καὶ καθεζόμενοι ἐδῄουν τὴν γῆν. καὶ
ὄντων αὐτῶν οὐ πολλάς πω ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ 'Αττικῇ ἡ νόσος
πρῶτον ἤρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις, λεγόμενον μὲν καὶ
πρότερον πολλαχόσε ἐγκατασκῆψαι καὶ περὶ Λῆμνον καὶ ἐν 5
ἄλλοις χωρίοις, οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτός γε λοιμὸς οὐδὲ φθορὰ
4 οὔτως ἀνθρώπων οὐδαμοῦ ἐμνημονεύετο γενέσθαι. οὔτε γὰρ
ἰατροὶ ἤρκουν τὸ πρῶτον θεραπεύοντες ἀγνοίᾳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ
μάλιστα ἔθνησκον ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα προσῇσαν, οὔτε ἄλλη
ἀνθρωπεία τέχνη οὐδεμία· ὅσα τε πρὸς ἱεροῖς ἱκέτευσαν ἢ 10
μαντείοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐχρήσαντο, πάντα ἀνωφελῆ ἦν,
τελευτῶντές τε αὐτῶν ἀπέστησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι.
48 ἤρξατο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὡς λέγεται, ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας τῆς
ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην
2 κατέβη καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλέως γῆν τὴν πολλήν. ἐς δὲ τὴν 15
'Αθηναίων πόλιν ἐξαπιναίως ἐσέπεσε, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ
Πειραιεῖ ἥψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν
ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα·
κρῆναι γὰρ οὔπω ἦσαν αὐτόθι. ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄνω
3 πόλιν ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἔθνησκον πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἤδη. λεγέτω 20
μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἕκαστος γιγνώσκει καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ
ἰδιώτης, ἀφ' ὅτου εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι αὐτό, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας
ἅστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν
ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ οἷόν τε ἐγίγνετο λέξω,
καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἄν τις σκοπῶν, εἴ ποτε καὶ αὖθις ἐπιπέσοι, 25
μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι τι προειδὼς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν, ταῦτα δηλώσω
αὐτός τε νοσήσας καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδὼν ἄλλους πάσχοντας.
49 Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὡμολογεῖτο, ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα δὴ
ἐκεῖνο ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ
2 τις καὶ προύκαμνέ τι, ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. τοὺς δὲ 30
ἄλλους ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ὑγιεῖς ὄντας

11 μαντείαις A B C F G 16 ἐσέπεσε Herwerden : ἐνέπεσε codd.
28 post πάντων distinguunt alii

πρῶτον μὲν τῆς κεφαλῆς θέρμαι ἰσχυραὶ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρυθήματα καὶ φλόγωσις ἐλάμβανε, καὶ τὰ ἐντός, ἥ τε φάρυγξ καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα, εὐθὺς αἱματώδη ἦν καὶ πνεῦμα. ἄτοπον καὶ δυσῶδες ἠφίει· ἔπειτα ἐξ αὐτῶν πταρμὸς καὶ βράγχος ἐπεγίγνετο, καὶ ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ κατέβαινεν ἐς τὰ στήθη ὁ πόνος μετὰ βηχὸς ἰσχυροῦ· καὶ ὁπότε ἐς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίξειεν, ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτὴν καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς πᾶσαι ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὠνομασμέναι εἰσὶν ἐπῆσαν, καὶ αὗται μετὰ ταλαιπωρίας μεγάλης. λύγξ τε τοῖς πλέοσιν ἐνέπιπτε κενή, σπασμὸν ἐνδιδοῦσα ἰσχυρόν, τοῖς μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα, τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἁπτομένῳ σῶμα οὔτ' ἄγαν θερμὸν ἦν οὔτε χλωρόν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρυθρον, πελιτνόν, φλυκταίναις μικραῖς καὶ ἕλκεσιν ἐξηνθηκός· τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκάετο ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάνυ λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδόνων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς μηδ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνοὶ ἀνέχεσθαι, ἥδιστά τε ἂν ἐς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ῥίπτειν. καὶ πολλοὶ τοῦτο τῶν ἠμεληκότων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἔδρασαν ἐς φρέατα, τῇ δίψῃ ἀπαύστῳ ξυνεχόμενοι· καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καθειστήκει τὸ πλέον καὶ ἔλασσον ποτόν. καὶ ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν καὶ ἡ ἀγρυπνία ἐπέκειτο διὰ παντός. καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅσονπερ χρόνου καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζοι, οὐκ ἐμαραίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχε παρὰ δόξαν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ, ὥστε ἢ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἑβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος, ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως, ἢ εἰ διαφύγοιεν, ἐπικατιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν καὶ ἑλκώσεως ἐν αὐτῇ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγγιγνομένης καὶ διαρροίας ἅμα ἀκράτου ἐπιπιπτούσης οἱ πολλοὶ ὕστερον δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενείᾳ διεφθείροντο. διεξῆει γὰρ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος ἄνωθεν ἀρξάμενον τὸ ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ πρῶτον

9 αὗται CG 10 ἐνέπεσε ABEFM Thom. Mag. 12 τῷ C quod tuetur Hude post ἁπτομένῳ τὸ addens 13 πελιτνόν Lexx.: πελιδνόν codd. 15 μήτ' ABEFM 16 γυμνοὶ ABEFM 23 πλείους ABF 28 διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν C et, ut videtur, G ἀπεφθείροντο ABEFM [G]

ἱδρυθὲν κακόν, καὶ εἴ τις ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων περιγένοιτο, τῶν
8 γε ἀκρωτηρίων ἀντίληψις αὐτοῦ ἐπεσήμαινεν. κατέσκηπτε
γὰρ ἐς αἰδοῖα καὶ ἐς ἄκρας χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ πολλοὶ
στερισκόμενοι τούτων διέφευγον, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλ-
μῶν. τοὺς δὲ καὶ λήθη ἐλάμβανε παραυτίκα ἀναστάντας
τῶν πάντων ὁμοίως, καὶ ἠγνόησαν σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς
50 ἐπιτηδείους. γενόμενον γὰρ κρεῖσσον λόγου τὸ εἶδος τῆς
νόσου τά τε ἄλλα χαλεπωτέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν
φύσιν προσέπιπτεν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἐν τῷδε ἐδήλωσε μάλιστα
ἄλλο τι ὂν ἢ τῶν ξυντρόφων τι· τὰ γὰρ ὄρνεα καὶ τετράποδα
ὅσα ἀνθρώπων ἅπτεται, πολλῶν ἀτάφων γιγνομένων ἢ οὐ
2 προσῄει ἢ γευσάμενα διεφθείρετο. τεκμήριον δέ· τῶν μὲν
τοιούτων ὀρνίθων ἐπίλειψις σαφὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐχ ἑωρῶντο
οὔτε ἄλλως οὔτε περὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν· οἱ δὲ κύνες μᾶλλον
αἴσθησιν παρεῖχον τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος διὰ τὸ ξυνδιαιτᾶσθαι.
51 Τὸ μὲν οὖν νόσημα, πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι ἀτοπίας,
ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἐτύγχανέ τι διαφερόντως ἑτέρῳ πρὸς ἕτερον
γιγνόμενον, τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὴν ἰδέαν. καὶ ἄλλου
παρελύπει κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὃ
2 δὲ καὶ γένοιτο, ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα. ἔθνῃσκον δὲ οἱ μὲν
ἀμελείᾳ, οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ θεραπευόμενοι. ἓν τε οὐδὲ ἓν
κατέστη ἴαμα ὡς εἰπεῖν ὅτι χρὴ προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν·
3 τὸ γὰρ τῷ ξυνενεγκὸν ἄλλον τοῦτο ἔβλαπτεν. σῶμά τε
αὔταρκες ὂν οὐδὲν διεφάνη πρὸς αὐτὸ ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθε-
νείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ξυῄρει καὶ τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα.
4 δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς ἦν τοῦ κακοῦ ἥ τε ἀθυμία ὁπότε τις
αἴσθοιτο κάμνων (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθὺς τραπόμενοι
τῇ γνώμῃ πολλῷ μᾶλλον προΐεντο σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐκ
ἀντεῖχον), καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλά-
μενοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνῃσκον· καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον
5 φθόρον τοῦτο ἐνεποίει. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ 'θέλοιεν δεδιότες

6 τῶν om. C et, ut videtur, G C et fort. G 11 γενομένων C G 21 οὐδὲν 22 χρὴ C G

ἀλλήλοις προσιέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἐρῆμοι, καὶ οἰκίαι πολλαὶ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος· εἴτε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι· αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐσιόντες παρὰ τοὺς φίλους, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι. ἐπὶ πλέον δ' ὅμως οἱ διαπεφευγότες τόν τε 6
θνήσκοντα καὶ τὸν πονούμενον ᾠκτίζοντο διὰ τὸ προειδέναι τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤδη ἐν τῷ θαρσαλέῳ εἶναι· οἷς γὰρ τὸν αὐτόν, ὥστε καὶ κτείνειν, οὐκ ἐπελάμβανεν. καὶ ἐμακαρίζοντό τε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ παραχρῆμα περιχαρεῖ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐλπίδος τι εἶχον κούφης μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου νοσήματός ποτε ἔτι διαφθαρῆναι.

Ἐπίεσε δ' αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον πρὸς τῷ ὑπάρχοντι πόνῳ καὶ 52
ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. οἰκιῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις 2
πνιγηραῖς ὥρᾳ ἔτους διαιτωμένων ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνῄσκοντες ἔκειντο καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἁπάσας ἡμιθνῆτες τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ. τά τε ἱερὰ ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνηντο νεκρῶν πλέα ἦν, αὐτοῦ ἐναποθνῃσκόντων· ὑπερβιαζομένου γὰρ τοῦ κακοῦ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὐκ ἔχοντες ὅτι γένωνται, ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως. νόμοι τε πάντες ξυνεταράχθησαν οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον περὶ τὰς ταφάς, ἔθαπτον δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, καὶ πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν· ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας οἱ μὲν ἐπιθέντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν νεκρὸν ὑφῆπτον, οἱ δὲ καιομένου ἄλλου ἐπιβαλόντες ἄνωθεν ὃν φέροιεν ἀπῆσαν.

Πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε καὶ ἐς τἆλλα τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνομίας 53

6 ἐξέκαμον A B E F M [G] 20 post ἡμιθνῆτες add. τῇ G M ἐσκήνωντο M 22 γένοιντο A B 29 ἐπιβάλλοντες C ἄνωθεν ἐπιβαλόντες A B E F M

τὸ νόσημα. ῥᾷον γὰρ ἐτόλμα τις ἃ πρότερον ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν, ἀγχίστροφον τὴν μεταβολὴν ὁρῶντες τῶν τε εὐδαιμόνων καὶ αἰφνιδίως θνησκόντων καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν πρότερον κεκτημένων, εὐθὺς δὲ τἀκείνων ἐχόντων. ὥστε ταχείας τὰς ἐπαυρέσεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ τερπνὸν ῑξίουν ποιεῖσθαι, ἐφήμερα τά τε σώματα καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὁμοίως ἡγούμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρήσεται· ὅτι δὲ ἤδη τε ἡδὺ παυταχόθεν τε ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον, τοῦτο καὶ καλὸν καὶ χρήσιμον κατέστη. θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπεῖργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ καὶ σέβειν καὶ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ πάντας ὁρᾶν ἐν ἴσῳ ἀπολλυμένους, τῶν δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων μέχρι τοῦ δικην γενέσθαι βιοὺς ἂν τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀντιδοῦναι, πολὺ δὲ μείζω τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην σφῶν ἐπικρεμασθῆναι, ἣν πρὶν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰκὸς εἶναι τοῦ βίου τι ἀπολαῦσαι.

54 Τοιούτῳ μὲν πάθει οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περιπεσόντες ἐπιέζοντο, ἀνθρώπων τ' ἔνδον θνησκόντων καὶ γῆς ἔξω δῃουμένης. ἐν δὲ τῷ κακῷ οἷα εἰκὸς ἀνεμνήσθησαν καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους, φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι πάλαι ἄδεσθαι 'ἥξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ.' ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμόν, ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰκότως λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο. ἦν δέ γε οἶμαί ποτε ἄλλος πόλεμος καταλάβῃ Δωρικὸς τοῦδε ὕστερος καὶ ξυμβῇ γενέσθαι λιμόν, κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς οὕτως ᾄσονται. μνήμη δὲ ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου τοῖς εἰδόσιν, ὅτι ἐπερωτῶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν εἰ χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἀνεῖλε κατὰ κράτος πολεμοῦσι νίκην ἔσεσθαι, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφη ξυλλήψεσθαι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ γιγνόμενα ἤκαζον ὁμοῖα εἶναι· ἐσβεβληκότων

7 προταλαιπωρεῖν C E A B E F M 9 παντοχόθεν τε] καὶ παντοχόθεν τὸ 10 prius καὶ om. C G 14 post τιμωρίαν habent βίουσαν (sic) C G

δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡ νόσος ἤρξατο εὐθύς, καὶ ἐς μὲν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν, ὅτι καὶ ἄξιον εἰπεῖν, ἐπενείματο δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γενόμενα.

Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ ἔτεμον τὸ πεδίον, παρῆλθον 55 ἐς τὴν Πάραλον γῆν καλουμένην μέχρι Λαυρείου, οὗ τὰ ἀργύρεια μέταλλά ἐστιν Ἀθηναίοις. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἔτεμον ταύτην ᾗ πρὸς Πελοπόννησον ὁρᾷ, ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν πρὸς Εὔβοιάν τε καὶ Ἄνδρον τετραμμένην. Περικλῆς δὲ στρατηγὸς 2 ὢν καὶ τότε περὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ ἐπεξιέναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἐσβολῇ. ἔτι 56 δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ περίῳ ὄντων, πρὶν ἐς τὴν παραλίαν ἐλθεῖν, ἑκατὸν νεῶν ἐπίπλουν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ παρεσκευάζετο, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἑτοῖμα ἦν, ἀνήγετο. ἦγε δ' ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν ὁπλίτας 2 Ἀθηναίων τετρακισχιλίους καὶ ἱππέας τριακοσίους ἐν ναυσὶν ἱππαγωγοῖς πρῶτον τότε ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νεῶν ποιηθείσαις· ξυνεστρατεύοντο δὲ καὶ Χῖοι καὶ Λέσβιοι πεντήκοντα ναυσίν. ὅτε δὲ ἀνήγετο ἡ στρατιὰ αὕτη Ἀθηναίων, Πελοποννησίους 3 κατέλιπον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὄντας ἐν τῇ παραλίᾳ. ἀφικόμενοι 4 δὲ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἔτεμον τῆς γῆς τὴν πολλήν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν προσβαλόντες ἐς ἐλπίδα μὲν ἦλθον τοῦ ἑλεῖν, οὐ μέντοι προυχώρησέ γε. ἀναγαγόμενοι 5 δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου ἔτεμον τήν τε Τροιζηνίδα γῆν καὶ Ἁλιάδα καὶ Ἑρμιονίδα· ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιθαλάσσια τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ἄραντες δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρα- 6 σιὰς τῆς Λακωνικῆς πόλισμα ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πόλισμα εἷλον καὶ ἐπόρθησαν. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσαντες ἐπ' οἴκου ἀνεχώρησαν. τοὺς δὲ Πελοποννησίους οὐκέτι κατέλαβον ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὄντας, ἀλλ' ἀνεκεχωρηκότας.

2 καὶ ἄξιον G : ἄξιον καὶ cett. 9 ᾗ C E F M 13 post παραλίαν add. γῆν A B E F G M 23 ἀναγόμενοι C G 24 post καὶ add. τὴν A B E F G M 25 post καὶ add. τὴν A B E F G M πάντα om. G : πάντα ταῦτα A B E F M

57 Ὅσον δὲ χρόνον οἵ τε Πελοποννήσιοι ἦσαν ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ
Ἀθηναίων καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν, ἡ
νόσος ἔν τε τῇ στρατιᾷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔφθειρε καὶ ἐν τῇ
πόλει, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη τοὺς Πελοποννησίους δείσαντας τὸ
νόσημα, ὡς ἐπυνθάνοντο τῶν αὐτομόλων ὅτι ἐν τῇ πόλει
εἴη καὶ θάπτοντας ἅμα ἠσθάνοντο, θᾶσσον ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξελ-
2 θεῖν. τῇ δὲ ἐσβολῇ ταύτῃ πλεῖστόν τε χρόνον ἐνέμειναν
καὶ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἔτεμον· ἡμέρας γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα
ἐν τῇ γῇ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἐγένοντο.

58 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Ἄγνων ὁ Νικίου καὶ Κλεόπομπος
ὁ Κλεινίου, ξυστράτηγοι ὄντες Περικλέους, λαβόντες τὴν
στρατιὰν ἣπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο ἐστράτευσαν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ
Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ Ποτείδαιαν ἔτι πολιορκου-
μένην, ἀφικόμενοι δὲ μηχανάς τε τῇ Ποτειδαίᾳ προσέφερον
2 καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπειρῶντο ἑλεῖν. προυχώρει δὲ αὐτοῖς
οὔτε ἡ αἵρεσις τῆς πόλεως οὔτε τἆλλα τῆς παρασκευῆς
ἀξίως· ἐπιγενομένη γὰρ ἡ νόσος ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάνυ ἐπίεσε
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, φθείρουσα τὴν στρατιάν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς
προτέρους στρατιώτας νοσῆσαι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῆς ξὺν
Ἄγνωνι στρατιᾶς, ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ ὑγιαίνοντας. Φορ-
μίων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἑξακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι οὐκέτι ἦσαν περὶ Χαλκι-
3 δέας. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἄγνων ἀνεχώρησε ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐς τὰς
Ἀθήνας, ἀπὸ τετρακισχιλίων ὁπλιτῶν χιλίους καὶ πεντή-
κοντα τῇ νόσῳ ἀπολέσας ἐν τεσσαράκοντα μάλιστα ἡμέραις·
οἱ δὲ πρότεροι στρατιῶται κατὰ χώραν μένοντες ἐπολιόρκουν
τὴν Ποτείδαιαν.

59 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων οἱ
Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἥ τε γῆ αὐτῶν ἐτέτμητο τὸ δεύτερον καὶ ἡ
νόσος ἐπέκειτο ἅμα καὶ ὁ πόλεμος, ἠλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας,
2 καὶ τὸν μὲν Περικλέα ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶχον ὡς πείσαντα σφᾶς
πολεμεῖν καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνον ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκότες,

1 δὲ χρόνον οἵ τε C : δέ τε χρόνον οἱ cett. (τε om. E) [G] 7 ἔμει-
ναν A B 22 ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀνεχώρησεν A B E F M

πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ὥρμηντο ξυγχωρεῖν· καὶ πρέσβεις τινὰς πέμψαντες ὡς αὐτοὺς ἄπρακτοι ἐγένοντο. πανταχόθεν τε τῇ γνώμῃ ἄποροι καθεστηκότες ἐνέκειντο τῷ Περικλεῖ. ὁ δὲ ὁρῶν αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὰ παρόντα χαλε- 3
παίνοντας καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἤλπιζε, ξύλλογον ποιήσας (ἔτι δ' ἐστρατήγει) ἐβούλετο θαρσῦναί τε καὶ ἀπαγαγὼν τὸ ὀργιζόμενον τῆς γνώμης πρὸς τὸ ἠπιώτερον καὶ ἀδεέστερον καταστῆσαι· παρελθὼν δὲ ἔλεξε τοιάδε.

'Καὶ προσδεχομένῳ μοι τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν ἔς με γεγέ- 60
νηται (αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τὰς αἰτίας) καὶ ἐκκλησίαν τούτου ἕνεκα ξυνήγαγον, ὅπως ὑπομνήσω καὶ μέμψωμαί εἴ τι μὴ ὀρθῶς ἢ ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε ἢ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς εἴκετε. ἐγὼ 2
γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι πόλιν πλείω ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἁθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην. καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ 3
τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος οὐδὲν ἧσσον ξυναπόλλυται, κακοτυχῶν δὲ ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ πολλῷ μᾶλλον διασῴζεται. ὁπότε οὖν πόλις μὲν τὰς ἰδίας ξυμφορὰς οἷά 4
τε φέρειν, εἷς δ' ἕκαστος τὰς ἐκείνης ἀδύνατος, πῶς οὐ χρὴ πάντας ἀμύνειν αὐτῇ, καὶ μὴ ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε· ταῖς κατ' οἶκον κακοπραγίαις ἐκπεπληγμένοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφίεσθε, καὶ ἐμέ τε τὸν παραινέσαντα πολεμεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἷ ξυνέγνωτε δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε. καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ 5
ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε ὃς οὐδενὸς ἧσσον οὔομαι εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολίς τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων. ὅ τε γὰρ γνοὺς καὶ μὴ σαφῶς διδάξας ἐν ἴσῳ 6
καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐνεθυμήθη· ὅ τε ἔχων ἀμφότερα, τῇ δὲ πόλει δύσνους, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως τι οἰκείως φράζοι· προσόντος δὲ
καὶ τοῦδε, χρήμασι δὲ νικωμένου, τὰ ξύμπαντα τούτου ἑνὸς ἂν πωλοῖτο. ὥστ' εἴ μοι καὶ μέσως ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων 7

2 πρεσβείας M 3 τε] δὲ CG καθεστῶτες A B E F M 10 ἐς ἐμὲ A B E F 23 τε om. C G 25 οἴομαι ἧσσων A B E F M Dion. Hal.

προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμεῖν ἐπείσθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν φεροίμην.

61 Καὶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν αἵρεσις γεγένηται τἆλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, πολλὰ ἄνοια πολεμῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἴξαντας εὐθὺς τοῖς πέλας ὑπακοῦσαι ἢ κινδυνεύσαντας περιγενέσθαι, ὁ φυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦ ὑποστάντος μεμπτότερος. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ὁ αὐτός εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἐξίσταμαι· ὑμεῖς δὲ μεταβάλλετε, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέβη ὑμῖν πεισθῆναι μὲν ἀκεραίοις, μεταμέλειν δὲ κακουμένοις, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης μὴ ὀρθὸν φαίνεσθαι, διότι τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἴσθησιν ἑκάστῳ, τῆς δὲ ὠφελίας ἄπεστιν ἔτι ἡ δήλωσις ἅπασι, καὶ μεταβολῆς μεγάλης, καὶ ταύτης ἐξ ὀλίγου, ἐμπεσούσης ταπεινὴ ὑμῶν ἡ διάνοια ἐγκαρτερεῖν ἃ ἔγνωτε. δουλοῖ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον καὶ τὸ πλείστῳ παραλόγῳ ξυμβαῖνον· ὃ ὑμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐχ ἥκιστα καὶ κατὰ τὴν νόσον γεγένηται. ὅμως δὲ πόλιν μεγάλην οἰκοῦντας καὶ ἐν ἤθεσιν ἀντιπάλοις αὐτῇ τεθραμμένους χρεὼν καὶ ξυμφοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐθέλειν ὑφίστασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν μὴ ἀφανίζειν (ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι δικαιοῦσι τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης αἰτιᾶσθαι ὅστις μαλακίᾳ ἐλλείπει καὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μισεῖν τὸν θρασύτητι ὀρεγόμενον), ἀπαλγήσαντας δὲ τὰ ἴδια τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι.

62 Τὸν δὲ πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ γένηταί τε πολὺς καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον περιγενώμεθα, ἀρκείτω μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐν οἷς ἄλλοτε πολλάκις γε δὴ ἀπέδειξα οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑποπτευόμενον, δηλώσω δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅ μοι δοκεῖτε οὔτ' αὐτοὶ πώποτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι ὑπάρχον ὑμῖν μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὔτ' ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις· οὐδ' ἂν νῦν ἐχρησάμην κομπωδεστέραν ἔχοντι τὴν προσποίησιν, εἰ μὴ καταπεπληγμένους ὑμᾶς παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἑώρων. οἴεσθε

12 ἅπασι om. C G (add. G^1) 16 ὑμῖν F^1 M : ἡμῖν cett. 18 ξυμφορὰς τὰς μεγίστας m : τὰς συμφορὰς Dion. Hal. 21 ὅστις ἂν . . . ἐλλείπῃ Dion. Hal.

μὲν γὰρ τῶν ξυμμάχων μόνων ἄρχειν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποφαίνω δύο μερῶν τῶν ἐς χρῆσιν φανερῶν, γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, τοῦ ἑτέρου ὑμᾶς παντὸς κυριωτάτους ὄντας, ἐφ' ὅσον τε νῦν νέμεσθε καὶ ἢν ἐπὶ πλέον βουληθῆτε· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ παρασκευῇ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ πλέοντας ὑμᾶς οὔτε βασιλεὺς οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι κωλύσει, ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ τῆς γῆς χρείαν, ὧν μεγάλων νομίζετε ἐστερῆσθαι, αὕτη ἡ δύναμις φαίνεται· οὐδ' εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ κηπίον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου πρὸς ταύτην νομίσαντας ὀλιγωρῆσαι, καὶ γνῶναι ἐλευθερίαν μέν, ἣν ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι αὐτῆς διασώσωμεν, ῥᾳδίως ταῦτα ἀναληψομένην, ἄλλων δὲ ὑπακούσασι καὶ τὰ προκεκτημένα φιλεῖν ἐλασσοῦσθαι, τῶν τε πατέρων μὴ χείρους κατ' ἀμφότερα φανῆναι, οἳ μετὰ πόνων καὶ οὐ παρ' ἄλλων δεξάμενοι κατέσχον τε καὶ προσέτι διασώσαντες παρέδοσαν ὑμῖν αὐτά (αἴσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχῆσαι), ἰέναι δὲ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμόσε μὴ φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι. αὔχημα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς καὶ δειλῷ τινὶ ἐγγίγνεται, καταφρόνησις δὲ ὃς ἂν καὶ γνώμῃ πιστευθῇ τῶν ἐναντίων προὔχειν, ὃ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει. καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἡ ξύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται, ἐλπίδι τε ἧσσον πιστεύει, ἧς ἐν τῷ ὑπόρῳ ἡ ἰσχύς, γνώμῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἧς βεβαιοτέρα ἡ πρόνοια. τῆς τε πόλεως ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς τῷ τιμωμένῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὥπερ ἅπαντες ἀγάλλεσθε, βοηθεῖν, καὶ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους ἢ μηδὲ τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν· μηδὲ νομίσαι περὶ ἑνὸς μόνου, δουλείας ἀντ' ἐλευθερίας, ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀρχῆς στερήσεως καὶ κινδύνου ὧν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπήχθεσθε. ἧς οὐδ' ἐκστῆναι

1 μόνων C E¹ : μόνον cett. [G] 6 post ἔθνος add. ἀνθρώπων C G κωλύσει post βασιλεὺς habent A B E F M 9 οὐ κηπίον c E? M : οὐχ ἧπιον C : οὐκ ἧπιον cett. 13 προκεκτημένα c G m : προσκεκτημένα M : προσεκτημένα cett. 20 περιέχειν C 22 ὀχυρωτέραν A B E F Dion. Hal. 25 ὥπερ ἅπαντες C G et, ut videtur, E¹ F¹ : ᾧ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας A¹ Dion. Hal. : ᾧ ὑπὲρ ἅπαντες cett. 29 ἀπήχθησθε Cobet

ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, εἴ τις καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἀνδραγαθίζεται· ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε αὐτήν, ἣν 3 λαβεῖν μὲν ἄδικον δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀφεῖναι δὲ ἐπικίνδυνον. τάχιστ' ἄν τε πόλιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἑτέρους τε πείσαντες ἀπολέσειαν καὶ εἴ που ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀπραγμον 5 οὐ σῴζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει ξυμφέρει, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ, ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν.

64 Ὑμεῖς δὲ μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν τοιῶνδε πολιτῶν παράγεσθε μήτε ἐμὲ δι' ὀργῆς ἔχετε, ᾧ καὶ αὐτοὶ ξυνδιέγνωτε πολεμεῖν, εἰ καὶ ἐπελθόντες οἱ ἐναντίοι ἔδρασαν ἅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν μὴ 10 ἐθελησάντων ὑμῶν ὑπακούειν, ἐπιγεγένηταί τε πέρα ὧν προσεδεχόμεθα ἡ νόσος ἥδε, πρᾶγμα μόνον δὴ τῶν πάντων ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον γεγενημένον. καὶ δι' αὐτὴν οἶδ' ὅτι μέρος τι μᾶλλον ἔτι μισοῦμαι, οὐ δικαίως, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὅταν παρὰ 2 λόγον τι εὖ πράξητε ἐμοὶ ἀναθήσετε. φέρειν δὲ χρὴ τά τε 15 δαιμόνια ἀναγκαίως τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρείως· ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν ἔθει τῇδε τῇ πόλει πρότερόν τε ἦν νῦν τε μὴ 3 ἐν ὑμῖν κωλυθῇ. γνῶτε δὲ ὄνομα μέγιστον αὐτὴν ἔχουσαν ἐν ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις διὰ τὸ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς μὴ εἴκειν, πλεῖστα δὲ σώματα καὶ πόνους ἀνηλωκέναι πολέμῳ, καὶ 20 δύναμιν μεγίστην δὴ μέχρι τοῦδε κεκτημένην, ἣν ἐς ἀΐδιον τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ἢν καὶ νῦν ὑπενδῶμέν ποτε (πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι), μνήμη καταλελείψεται, Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι Ἕλληνες πλείστων δὴ ἤρξαμεν, καὶ πολέμοις μεγίστοις ἀντέσχομεν πρός τε ξύμπαντας καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους, πόλιν τε 25 4 τοῖς πᾶσιν εὐπορωτάτην καὶ μεγίστην ᾠκήσαμεν. καίτοι ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἀπράγμων μέμψαιτ' ἄν, ὁ δὲ δρᾶν τι καὶ αὐτὸς 5 βουλόμενος ζηλώσει· εἰ δέ τις μὴ κέκτηται, φθονήσει. τὸ δὲ μισεῖσθαι καὶ λυπηροὺς εἶναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι πᾶσι μὲν ὑπῆρξε δὴ ὅσοι ἕτεροι ἑτέρων ἠξίωσαν ἄρχειν· ὅστις δὲ ἐπὶ 30 μεγίστοις τὸ ἐπίφθονον λαμβάνει, ὀρθῶς βουλεύεται. μῖσος

14 παρὰ λόγον c G m : παράλογόν cett. γρ. G 15 δὲ G : τε cett.
19 πᾶσιν A B E F M 24 πλεῖστον C G 27 βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς A B E F M

μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχει, ἡ δὲ παραυτίκα τε λαμπρότης καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα αἰείμνηστος καταλείπεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν προγνόντες ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρὸν τῷ ἥδη προθύμῳ ἀμφότερα κτήσασθε, καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μήτε ἐπικηρυκεύεσθε μήτε ἔνδηλοι ἔστε τοῖς παροῦσι πόνοις βαρυνόμενοι, ὡς οἵτινες πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς γνώμῃ μὲν ἥκιστα λυποῦνται, ἔργῳ δὲ μάλιστα ἀντέχουσιν, οὗτοι καὶ πόλεων καὶ ἰδιωτῶν κράτιστοί εἰσιν.'

Τοιαῦτα ὁ Περικλῆς λέγων ἐπειρᾶτο τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῆς τε ἐς αὐτὸν ὀργῆς παραλύειν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἀπάγειν τὴν γνώμην. οἱ δὲ δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοῖς λόγοις ἀνεπείθοντο καὶ οὔτε πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἔπεμπον ἔς τε τὸν πόλεμον μᾶλλον ὥρμηντο, ἰδίᾳ δὲ τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐλυποῦντο, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὅτι ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων ὁρμώμενος ἐστέρητο καὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν οἰκοδομίαις τε καὶ πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς ἀπολωλεκότες, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ἔχοντες. οὐ μέντοι πρότερόν γε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπαύσαντο ἐν ὀργῇ ἔχοντες αὐτὸν πρὶν ἐζημίωσαν χρήμασιν. ὕστερον δ' αὖθις οὐ πολλῷ, ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὅμιλος ποιεῖν, στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψαν, ὧν μὲν περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἕκαστος ἤλγει ἀμβλύτεροι ἤδη ὄντες, ὧν δὲ ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις προσεδεῖτο πλείστου ἄξιον νομίζοντες εἶναι. ὅσον τε γὰρ χρόνον προύστη τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, μετρίως ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλαξεν αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγένετο ἐπ' ἐκείνου μεγίστη, ἐπειδή τε ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη, ὁ δὲ φαίνεται καὶ ἐν τούτῳ προγνοὺς τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπεβίω δὲ δύο ἔτη καὶ ἓξ μῆνας· καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέθανεν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἔτι ἐγνώσθη ἡ πρόνοια αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχάζοντάς τε καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν θεραπεύοντας καὶ ἀρχὴν μὴ

1 μὲν om. A B E F M 10 ἐς] ἐπ' A B E F M Schol. 16 post χώραν add. ἐν Madvig 22 ξύμπασα ἡ A B E F M 26 ἐπεί A B E F M 29 alterum ἡ om. A B E F M

ἐπικτωμένους ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μηδὲ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας ἔφη περιέσεσθαι· οἱ δὲ ταὐτά τε πάντα ἐς τοὐναντίον ἔπραξαν καὶ ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντα εἶναι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἴδια κέρδη κακῶς ἔς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπολίτευσαν, ἃ κατορθούμενα μὲν τοῖς ἰδιώταις τιμὴ καὶ ὠφελία μᾶλλον ἦν, σφαλέντα δὲ τῇ πόλει ἐς τὸν πόλεμον βλάβη καθίστατο. αἴτιον δ' ἦν ὅτι ἐκεῖνος μὲν δυνατὸς ὢν τῷ τε ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ χρημάτων τε διαφανῶς ἀδωρότατος γενόμενος κατεῖχε τὸ πλῆθος ἐλεύθερως, καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἦγε, διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἐξ οὐ προσηκόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργήν τι ἀντειπεῖν. ὁπότε γοῦν αἴσθοιτό τι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσοῦντας, λέγων κατέπλησσεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ δεδιότας αὖ ἀλόγως ἀντικαθίστη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν. ἐγίγνετό τε λόγῳ μὲν δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή. οἱ δὲ ὕστερον ἴσοι μᾶλλον αὐτοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὄντες καὶ ὀρεγόμενοι τοῦ πρῶτος ἕκαστος γίγνεσθαι ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι. ἐξ ὧν ἄλλα τε πολλά, ὡς ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει καὶ ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ, ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς, ὃς οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἁμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν, ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας τά τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποίουν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν. σφαλέντες δὲ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλῃ τε παρασκευῇ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῷ πλέονι μορίῳ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη ἐν στάσει ὄντες ὅμως †τρία† μὲν ἔτη ἀντεῖχον τοῖς τε πρότερον ὑπάρχουσι πολεμίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικελίας μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔτι τοῖς πλέοσιν ἀφεστηκόσι, Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδὶ προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρεῖχε

17 αὐτοὶ μᾶλλον A B E F M 23 διαφορὰς G M 28 τρία] δέκα Haacke : ὀκτὼ Shilleto

χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν. τοσοῦτον τῷ Περικλεῖ ἐπερίσσευσε 13
τότε ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς προέγνω καὶ πάνυ ἂν ῥᾳδίως περιγενέσθαι
5 τὴν πόλιν Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ.

Οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους 66
ἐστράτευσαν ναυσὶν ἑκατὸν ἐς Ζάκυνθον τὴν νῆσον, ἣ κεῖται ἀντιπέρας Ἤλιδος· εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν τῶν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἄποικοι καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ξυνεμάχουν. ἐπέπλεον δὲ Λακε- 2
10 δαιμονίων χίλιοι ὁπλῖται καὶ Κνῆμος Σπαρτιάτης ναύαρχος. ἀποβάντες δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐδῄωσαν τὰ πολλά. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ ξυνεχώρουν, ἀπέπλευσαν ἐπ' οἴκου.

Καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος Ἀριστεὺς Κορίνθιος 67
καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις Ἀνήριστος καὶ Νικόλαος καὶ
15 Πρατόδαμος καὶ Τεγεάτης Τιμαγόρας καὶ Ἀργεῖος ἰδίᾳ Πόλλις, πορευόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς βασιλέα, εἴ πως πείσειαν αὐτὸν χρήματά τε παρασχεῖν καὶ ξυμπολεμεῖν, ἀφικνοῦνται ὡς Σιτάλκην πρῶτον τὸν Τήρεω ἐς Θρᾴκην, βουλόμενοι πεῖσαί τε αὐτόν, εἰ δύναιντο, μεταστάντα τῆς
20 Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίας στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτείδαιαν, οὗ ἦν στράτευμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολιορκοῦν, καὶ ἦπερ ὥρμηντο, διὰ ἐκείνου πορευθῆναι πέραν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου ὡς Φαρνάκην τὸν Φαρναβάζου, ὃς αὐτοὺς ἔμελλεν ὡς βασιλέα ἀναπέμψειν. παρατυχόντες δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις Λέαρχος 2
25 Καλλιμάχου καὶ Ἀμεινιάδης Φιλήμονος παρὰ τῷ Σιτάλκῃ πείθουσι τὸν Σάδοκον τὸν γεγενημένον Ἀθηναῖον, Σιτάλκου υἱόν, τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐγχειρίσαι σφίσιν, ὅπως μὴ διαβάντες ὡς βασιλέα τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν τὸ μέρος βλάψωσιν. ὁ δὲ 3
πεισθεὶς πορευομένους αὐτοὺς διὰ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον
30 ᾧ ἔμελλον τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον περαιώσειν, πρὶν ἐσβαίνειν

2 ἐν secl. Herwerden σφίσιν αὐτοῖς C [G] 5 τὴν πόλιν C G Aristides: τῶν cett. 15 Πρατόδαμος M: Στρατόδημος A B: Πρατόδημος cett. 17 παρέχειν A B^1 E F M 26 alterum τὸν om. C G

ξυλλαμβάνει, ἄλλους ξυμπέμψας μετὰ τοῦ Λεάρχου καὶ
Ἀμεινιάδου, καὶ ἐκέλευσεν ἐκείνοις παραδοῦναι· οἱ δὲ λα-
4 βόντες ἐκόμισαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. ἀφικομένων δὲ αὐτῶν
δείσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν Ἀριστέα μὴ αὖθις σφᾶς ἔτι
πλείω κακουργῇ διαφυγών, ὅτι καὶ πρὸ τούτων τὰ τῆς 5
Ποτειδαίας καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης πάντα ἐφαίνετο πράξας,
ἀκρίτους καὶ βουλομένους ἔστιν ἃ εἰπεῖν αὐθημερὸν ἀπ-
έκτειναν πάντας καὶ ἐς φάραγγα ἐσέβαλον, δικαιοῦντες τοῖς
αὐτοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι οἵσπερ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπῆρξαν, τοὺς
ἐμπόρους οὓς ἔλαβον Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐν ὁλ- 10
κάσι περὶ Πελοπόννησον πλέοντας ἀποκτείναντες καὶ ἐς
φάραγγας ἐσβαλόντες. πάντας γὰρ δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ
πολέμου Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὅσους λάβοιεν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὡς
πολεμίους διέφθειρον, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ Ἀθηναίων ξυμπολε-
μοῦντας καὶ τοὺς μηδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων. 15

68 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, τοῦ θέρους τελευτῶντος,
καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται αὐτοί τε καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πολλοὺς
ἀναστήσαντες ἐστράτευσαν ἐπ' Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ
2 τὴν ἄλλην Ἀμφιλοχίαν. ἔχθρα δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους
3 ἀπὸ τοῦδε αὐτοῖς ἤρξατο πρῶτον γενέσθαι. Ἄργος τὸ 20
Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἔκτισε μὲν μετὰ
τὰ Τρωικὰ οἰκαδε ἀναχωρήσας καὶ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν
Ἄργει καταστάσει Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω ἐν τῷ Ἀμπρα-
κικῷ κόλπῳ, ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας
4 (καὶ ἦν ἡ πόλις αὕτη μεγίστη τῆς Ἀμφιλοχίας καὶ τοὺς 25
5 δυνατωτάτους εἶχεν οἰκήτορας), ὑπὸ ξυμφορῶν δὲ πολλαῖς
γενεαῖς ὕστερον πιεζόμενοι Ἀμπρακιῶται ὁμόρους ὄντας τῇ
Ἀμφιλοχικῇ ξυνοίκους ἐπηγάγοντο, καὶ ἠλληνίσθησαν τὴν
νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικη-
6 σάντων· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι Ἀμφίλοχοι βάρβαροί εἰσιν. ἐκβάλ- 30
λουσιν οὖν τοὺς Ἀργείους οἱ Ἀμπρακιῶται χρόνῳ καὶ αὐτοὶ

1 post ἄλλους add. δὲ C G 8 φάραγγας A B E F M 13 post πολέμου add. οἱ A B E F M 21 μὲν om. A B E F M 24 αὐτοῦ C G 29 τότε om. C G

ἴσχουσι τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δ' Ἀμφίλοχοι γενομένου τούτου 7
διδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶσι, καὶ προσπαρακαλέσαντες ἀμφότεροι Ἀθηναίους, οἳ αὐτοῖς Φορμίωνά τε στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψαν καὶ ναῦς τριάκοντα, ἀφικομένου [δὲ] τοῦ Φορμίωνος αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος Ἄργος καὶ τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἠνδραπόδισαν, κοινῇ τε ὤκισαν αὐτὸ Ἀμφίλοχοι καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες. μετὰ δὲ 8
τοῦτο ἡ ξυμμαχία πρῶτον ἐγένετο Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Ἀκαρνᾶσιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀμπρακιῶται τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν ἐς τοὺς Ἀργείους 9
ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ σφῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ἐποιήσαντο, ὕστερον δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τήνδε τὴν στρατείαν ποιοῦνται αὐτῶν τε καὶ Χαόνων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν τῶν πλησιοχώρων βαρβάρων· ἐλθόντες τε πρὸς τὸ Ἄργος τῆς μὲν χώρας ἐκράτουν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὡς οὐκ ἐδύναντο ἑλεῖν προσβαλόντες, ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου καὶ διελύθησαν κατὰ ἔθνη. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ θέρει ἐγένετο.

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος Ἀθηναῖοι ναῦς ἔστειλαν 69
εἴκοσι μὲν περὶ Πελοπόννησον καὶ Φορμίωνα στρατηγόν, ὃς ὁρμώμενος ἐκ Ναυπάκτου φυλακὴν εἶχε μήτ' ἐκπλεῖν ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου μηδένα μήτ' ἐσπλεῖν, ἑτέρας δὲ ἓξ ἐπὶ Καρίας καὶ Λυκίας καὶ Μελήσανδρον στρατηγόν, ὅπως ταῦτά τε ἀργυρολογῶσι καὶ τὸ λῃστικὸν τῶν Πελοποννησίων μὴ ἐῶσιν αὐτόθεν ὁρμώμενον βλάπτειν τὸν πλοῦν τῶν ὁλκάδων τῶν ἀπὸ Φασήλιδος καὶ Φοινίκης καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἠπείρου. ἀναβὰς δὲ στρατιᾷ Ἀθηναίων τε 2
τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς τὴν Λυκίαν ὁ Μελήσανδρος ἀποθνῄσκει καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς μέρος τι διέφθειρε νικηθεὶς μάχῃ.

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος οἱ Ποτειδεᾶται ἐπειδὴ οὐκέτι 70
ἐδύναντο πολιορκούμενοι ἀντέχειν, ἀλλ' αἵ τε ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολαὶ Πελοποννησίων οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀπανίστασαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὅ τε σῖτος ἐπελελοίπει, καὶ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ

4 δὲ secl. Krüger : δὴ Stahl 6 ὤκισαν C : ᾤκησαν cett. 7 ἐγένετο πρῶτον A B E F M 11 ἑαυτῶν C [G] 12 τε] δὲ C [G] 29 ἐσβολαὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν C F G Greg. Cor.

ἐπεγεγένητο αὐτόθι ἤδη βρώσεως πέρι ἀναγκαίας καὶ τίνες
καὶ ἀλλήλων ἐγέγευντο, οὕτω δὴ λόγους προσφέρουσι περὶ
ξυμβάσεως τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων τοῖς ἐπὶ σφίσι
τεταγμένοις, Ξενοφῶντί τε τῷ Εὐριπίδου καὶ Ἑστιοδώρῳ
2 τῷ Ἀριστοκλείδου καὶ Φανομάχῳ τῷ Καλλιμάχου. οἱ δὲ 5
προσεδέξαντο, ὁρῶντες μὲν τῆς στρατιᾶς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν
ἐν χωρίῳ χειμερινῷ, ἀνηλωκυίας δὲ ἤδη τῆς πόλεως δισχίλια
3 τάλαντα ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε οὖν ξυνέβησαν,
ἐξελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς ἐπικούρους
ξὺν ἑνὶ ἱματίῳ, γυναῖκας δὲ ξὺν δυοῖν, καὶ ἀργύριόν τι 10
4 ῥητὸν ἔχοντας ἐφόδιον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξῆλθον
ἔς τε τὴν Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ ᾗ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ
τούς τε στρατηγοὺς ἐπῃτιάσαντο ὅτι ἄνευ αὐτῶν ξυνέβησαν
(ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἂν κρατῆσαι τῆς πόλεως ᾗ ἐβούλοντο), καὶ
ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἔπεμψαν ἑαυτῶν ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν καὶ 15
κατῴκισαν. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι ἐγένετο, καὶ [τὸ]
δεύτερον ἔτος ἐτελεύτα τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης
ξυνέγραψεν.

71 Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ
ξύμμαχοι ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀττικὴν οὐκ ἐσέβαλον, ἐστράτευσαν 20
δὲ ἐπὶ Πλάταιαν· ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου
Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς. καὶ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν ἔμελλε
δῃώσειν τὴν γῆν· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῆς εὐθὺς πρέσβεις πέμψαντες
2 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔλεγον τοιάδε· ''Αρχίδαμε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε οὐδ' ἄξια οὔτε ὑμῶν οὔτε πατέρων ὧν 25
ἐστέ, ἐς γῆν τὴν Πλαταιῶν στρατεύοντες. Παυσανίας γὰρ
ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐλευθερώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα
ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων μετὰ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐθελησάντων ξυνάρα-
σθαι τὸν κίνδυνον τῆς μάχης ἦ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, θύσας
ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῶν ἀγορᾷ ἱερὰ Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ ξυγκαλέσας 30

7 δὲ] τε A B E F M 8 τὴν om. A B E F M 12 ἔς τε] ἐπὶ A B E F M ἕκαστος ᾗ A B E F M 15 ἑαυτῶν ἔπεμψαν A B E F M 16 τὸ secl. Poppo 24 πρὸς αὐτὸν] παρ' αὐτῶν C 30 ἱερὰ Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ C G Dion. Hal.: Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ ἱερὰ A B E F M

πάντας τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀπεδίδου Πλαταιεῦσι γῆν καὶ πόλιν τὴν σφετέραν ἔχοντας αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν, στρατεῦσαί τε μηδένα ποτὲ ἀδίκως ἐπ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀμύνειν τοὺς παρόντας ξυμμάχους κατὰ δύναμιν. τάδε μὲν 3
ἡμῖν πατέρες οἱ ὑμέτεροι ἔδοσαν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ προθυμίας τῆς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς κινδύνοις γενομένης, ὑμεῖς δὲ τἀναντία δρᾶτε· μετὰ γὰρ Θηβαίων τῶν ἡμῖν ἐχθίστων ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἥκετε. μάρτυρας δὲ θεοὺς τούς τε ὁρκίους τότε 4
γενομένους ποιούμενοι καὶ τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρῴους καὶ ἡμετέρους ἐγχωρίους, λέγομεν ὑμῖν γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, ἐὰν δὲ οἰκεῖν αὐτονόμους καθάπερ Παυσανίας ἐδικαίωσεν.'

Τοσαῦτα εἰπόντων τῶν Πλαταιῶν Ἀρχίδαμος ὑπολαβὼν 72
εἶπεν· 'δίκαια λέγετε, ὦ ἄνδρες Πλαταιῆς, ἢν ποιῆτε ὁμοῖα τοῖς λόγοις. καθάπερ γὰρ Παυσανίας ὑμῖν παρέδωκεν, αὐτοί τε αὐτονομεῖσθε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ξυνελευθεροῦτε, ὅσοι μετασχόντες τῶν τότε κινδύνων ὑμῖν τε ξυνώμοσαν καὶ εἰσὶ νῦν ὑπ' Ἀθηναίοις, παρασκευή τε τοσήδε καὶ πόλεμος γεγένηται αὐτῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθερώσεως. ἧς μάλιστα μὲν μετασχόντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμμείνατε τοῖς ὅρκοις· εἰ δὲ μή, ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον ἤδη προυκαλεσάμεθα, ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε νεμόμενοι τὰ ὑμέτερα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔστε μηδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων, δέχεσθε δὲ ἀμφοτέρους φίλους, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ μηδετέρους. καὶ τάδε ἡμῖν ἀρκέσει.' ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίδαμος 2
τοσαῦτα εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ Πλαταιῶν πρέσβεις ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα ἐσῆλθον ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τὰ ῥηθέντα κοινώσαντες ἀπεκρίναντο αὐτῷ ὅτι ἀδύνατα σφίσιν εἴη ποιεῖν ἃ προκαλεῖται ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων (παῖδες γὰρ σφῶν καὶ γυναῖκες παρ' ἐκείνοις εἶεν), δεδιέναι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῇ πάσῃ πόλει μὴ ἐκείνων ἀποχωρησάντων Ἀθηναῖοι ἐλθόντες σφίσιν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπωσιν, ἢ Θηβαῖοι, ὡς ἔνορκοι ὄντες κατὰ τὸ ἀμφο-

10 γῆν C G Dion. Hal. : τὴν γῆν A B E F M 13 τῶν C G Dion. Hal. : om. A B E F M 18 τε A B E F M γρ. G Dion. Hal. : δὲ C G 21 πρότερον C G Dion. Hal. : τὸ πρότερον A B E F M

τέρους δέχεσθαι, αὖθις σφῶν τὴν πόλιν πειράσωσι καταλα-
3 βεῖν. ὁ δὲ θαρσύνων αὐτοὺς πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφη· 'ὑμεῖς δὲ
πόλιν μὲν καὶ οἰκίας ἡμῖν παράδοτε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις,
καὶ γῆς ὅρους ἀποδείξατε καὶ δένδρα ἀριθμῷ τὰ ὑμέτερα
καὶ ἄλλο εἴ τι δυνατὸν ἐς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μετα- 5
χωρήσατε ὅποι βούλεσθε, ἕως ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ᾖ· ἐπειδὰν
δὲ παρέλθῃ, ἀποδώσομεν ὑμῖν ἃ ἂν παραλάβωμεν. μέχρι
δὲ τοῦδε ἕξομεν παρακαταθήκην, ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ φορὰν
73 φέροντες ἣ ἂν ὑμῖν μέλλῃ ἱκανὴ ἔσεσθαι.' οἱ δ' ἀκού-
σαντες ἐσῆλθον αὖθις ἐς τὴν πόλιν, καὶ βουλευσάμενοι μετὰ 10
τοῦ πλήθους ἔλεξαν ὅτι βούλονται ἃ προκαλεῖται Ἀθηναίοις
κοινῶσαι πρῶτον, καὶ ἢν πείθωσιν αὐτούς, ποιεῖν ταῦτα·
μέχρι δὲ τούτου σπείσασθαι σφίσιν ἐκέλευον καὶ τὴν γῆν
μὴ δῃοῦν. ὁ δὲ ἡμέρας τε ἐσπείσατο ἐν αἷς εἰκὸς ἦν
2 κομισθῆναι, καὶ τὴν γῆν οὐκ ἔτεμνεν. ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ 15
Πλαταιῆς πρέσβεις ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ βουλευσάμενοι
μετ' αὐτῶν πάλιν ἦλθον ἀπαγγέλλοντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει
3 τοιάδε· 'οὔτ' ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ, ὦ ἄνδρες Πλαταιῆς,
ἀφ' οὗ ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα, Ἀθηναῖοί φασιν ἐν οὐδενὶ
ὑμᾶς προέσθαι ἀδικουμένους οὔτε νῦν περιόψεσθαι, βοηθή- 20
σειν δὲ κατὰ δύναμιν. ἐπισκήπτουσί τε ὑμῖν πρὸς τῶν
ὅρκων οὓς οἱ πατέρες ὤμοσαν μηδὲν νεωτερίζειν περὶ τὴν
74 ξυμμαχίαν.' τοιαῦτα τῶν πρέσβεων ἀπαγγειλάντων οἱ
Πλαταιῆς ἐβουλεύσαντο Ἀθηναίους μὴ προδιδόναι, ἀλλ'
G. ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ γῆν τεμνομένην, εἰ δεῖ, ὁρῶντας καὶ ἄλλο 25
πάσχοντας ὅτι ἂν ξυμβαίνῃ· ἐξελθεῖν τε μηδένα ἔτι, ἀλλ'
ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ἀποκρίνασθαι ὅτι ἀδύνατα σφίσι ποιεῖν
2 ἐστὶν ἃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προκαλοῦνται. ὡς δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο,
ἐντεῦθεν δὴ πρῶτον μὲν ἐς ἐπιμαρτυρίαν καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων
τῶν ἐγχωρίων Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ βασιλεὺς κατέστη, λέγων ὧδε· 30
'θεοὶ ὅσοι γῆν τὴν Πλαταιίδα ἔχετε καὶ ἥρωες, ξυνίστορες

1 πειράσουσι A B E F M [G] C G (corr. G¹) Dion. Hal. 6 ὅπη G M 17 ἀγγέλλοντες 30 ὁ βασιλεὺς C G Dion. Hal. : βασιλεύς A B E F M, secl. Krüger

N.B. * ὁρῶντες & πάσχοντες

ἐστε ὅτι οὔτε τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδίκως, ἐκλιπόντων δὲ τῶνδε προτέρων τὸ ξυνώμοτον, ἐπὶ γῆν τήνδε ἤλθομεν, ἐν ᾗ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εὐξάμενοι ὑμῖν Μήδων ἐκράτησαν καὶ παρέσχετε αὐτὴν εὐμενῆ ἐναγωνίσασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὔτε νῦν, ἤν τι ποιῶμεν, ἀδικήσομεν· προκαλεσάμενοι γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ εἰκότα οὐ τυγχάνομεν. ξυγγνώμονες δὲ ἔστε τῆς μὲν ἀδικίας κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προτέροις, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι νομίμως.'

Τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας καθίστη ἐς πόλεμον τὸν στρατόν, 75
καὶ πρῶτον μὲν περιεσταύρωσαν αὐτοὺς τοῖς δένδρεσιν ἃ ἔκοψαν, τοῦ μηδένα ἐπεξιέναι, ἔπειτα χῶμα ἔχουν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ἐλπίζοντες ταχίστην αἵρεσιν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν στρατεύματος τοσούτου ἐργαζομένου. ξύλα μὲν οὖν τέμνοντες ἐκ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος παρῳκοδόμουν ἑκατέρωθεν, φορμηδὸν ἀντὶ τοίχων τιθέντες, ὅπως μὴ διαχέοιτο ἐπὶ πολὺ τὸ χῶμα· ἐφόρουν δὲ ὕλην ἐς αὐτὸ καὶ λίθους καὶ γῆν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἀνύτειν μέλλοι ἐπιβαλλόμενον. ἡμέρας δὲ 3
ἔχουν †ἑβδομήκοντα† καὶ νύκτας ξυνεχῶς, διῃρημένοι κατ' ἀναπαύλας, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν φέρειν, τοὺς δὲ ὕπνου τε καὶ σίτου αἱρεῖσθαι· Λακεδαιμονίων τε οἱ ξεναγοὶ ἑκάστης πόλεως ξυνεφεστῶτες ἠνάγκαζον ἐς τὸ ἔργον. οἱ δὲ 4
Πλαταιῆς ὁρῶντες τὸ χῶμα αἰρόμενον, ξύλινον τεῖχος ξυνθέντες καὶ ἐπιστήσαντες τῷ ἑαυτῶν τείχει ᾗ προσεχοῦτο, ἐσῳκοδόμουν ἐς αὐτὸ πλίνθους ἐκ τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες. ξύνδεσμος δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ ξύλα, τοῦ μὴ ὑψηλὸν 5
γιγνόμενον ἀσθενὲς εἶναι τὸ οἰκοδόμημα, καὶ προκαλύμματα εἶχε δέρσεις καὶ διφθέρας, ὥστε τοὺς ἐργαζομένους καὶ τὰ ξύλα μήτε πυρφόροις ὀιστοῖς βάλλεσθαι ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ τε

1 ἔστε FM [G] 2 προτέρων Dion. Hal.: πρότερον codd. cc. 75–78 in codice Parisino Minae saec. X (P) leguntur 10 περιεσταύρωσαν Greg. Cor.: περιεσταύρωσεν codd. 11 ἐπεξιέναι C P: ἔτι ἐξιέναι A B E F G (ἐπεξ-, erasis litteris ἐπ-) M Greg. Cor. χώματα C G 18 ἑβδομήκοντα] ἐννέα Stahl: ἑπτακαίδεκα Steup 20 post ξεναγοὶ add. καὶ C G 21 ἐφεστῶτες C G P 26 προκάλυμμα C G

6 εἶναι. ἤρετο δὲ τὸ ὕψος τοῦ τείχους μέγα, καὶ τὸ χῶμα
οὐ σχολαίτερον ἀντανήει αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιόνδε
τι ἐπινοοῦσιν· διελόντες τοῦ τείχους ᾗ προσέπιπτε τὸ χῶμα
76 ἐσεφόρουν τὴν γῆν. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐν
ταρσοῖς καλάμου πηλὸν ἐνίλλοντες ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ διῃρη- 5
2 μένον, ὅπως μὴ διαχεόμενον ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ φοροῖτο. οἱ δὲ
ταύτῃ ἀποκληόμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἐπέσχον, ὑπόνομον δὲ ἐκ
τῆς πόλεως ὀρύξαντες καὶ ξυντεκμηράμενοι ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα
ὑφεῖλκον αὖθις παρὰ σφᾶς τὸν χοῦν· καὶ ἐλάνθανον ἐπὶ
πολὺ τοὺς ἔξω, ὥστε ἐπιβάλλοντας ᾗσσον ἀνύτειν ὑπαγο- 10
μένου αὐτοῖς κάτωθεν τοῦ χώματος καὶ ἰζάνοντος αἰεὶ ἐπὶ
3 τὸ κενούμενον. δεδιότες δὲ μὴ οὐδ' οὕτω δύνωνται ὀλίγοι
πρὸς πολλοὺς ἀντέχειν, προσεπεξηῦρον τόδε· τὸ μὲν μέγα
οἰκοδόμημα ἐπαύσαντο ἐργαζόμενοι τὸ κατὰ τὸ χῶμα, ἔνθεν
δὲ καὶ ἔνθεν αὐτοῦ ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχέος τείχους ἐκ 15
τοῦ ἐντὸς μηνοειδὲς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῳκοδόμουν, ὅπως, εἰ τὸ
μέγα τεῖχος ἁλίσκοιτο, τοῦτ' ἀντέχοι, καὶ δέοι τοὺς ἐναντίους
αὖθις πρὸς αὐτὸ χοῦν καὶ προχωροῦντας ἔσω διπλάσιόν τε-
4 πόνου ἔχειν καὶ ἐν ἀμφιβόλῳ μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι. ἅμα δὲ
τῇ χώσει καὶ μηχανὰς προσῆγον οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῇ 20
πόλει, μίαν μὲν ἣ τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδομήματος κατὰ τὸ χῶμα
προσαχθεῖσα ἐπὶ μέγα τε κατέσεισε καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας
ἐφόβησεν, ἄλλας δὲ ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους, ἃς βρύχους τε περι-
βάλλοντες ἀνέκλων οἱ Πλαταιῆς, καὶ δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἀρτή-
σαντες ἁλύσεσι μακραῖς σιδηραῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς ἑκατέρωθεν 25
ἀπὸ κεραιῶν δύο ἐπικεκλιμένων καὶ ὑπερτεινουσῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
τείχους ἀνελκύσαντες ἐγκαρσίας, ὁπότε προσπεσεῖσθαί πῃ
μέλλοι ἡ μηχανή, ἀφίεσαν τὴν δοκὸν χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἁλύσεσι
καὶ οὐ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες, ἡ δὲ ῥύμῃ ἐμπίπτουσα ἀπεκαύλιζε
τὸ προῦχον τῆς ἐμβολῆς. 30
77 Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὡς αἵ τε μηχαναὶ

5 ἐσέβαλλον C G Suid. Zonar. : ἐσέβαλον cett. P 16 ἐσῳκοδόμουν C G P : προσῳκοδόμουν cett. 20 τῇ πόλει οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι A B E F M P 24 ἀνέκλων] ἀνεῖλκον Rutherford

οὐδὲν ὠφέλουν καὶ τῷ χώματι τὸ ἀντιτείχισμα ἐγίγνετο, νομίσαντες ἄπορον εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν ἑλεῖν τὴν πόλιν πρὸς τὴν περιτείχισιν παρεσκευάζοντο. πρότερον δὲ πυρὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς πειρᾶσαι εἰ δύναιντο πνεύματος γενομένου ἐπιφλέξαι τὴν πόλιν οὖσαν οὐ μεγάλην· πᾶσαν γὰρ δὴ ἰδέαν ἐπενόουν, εἴ πως σφίσιν ἄνευ δαπάνης καὶ πολιορκίας προσαχθείη. φορυῦντες δὲ ὕλης φακέλους παρέβαλον ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ πρῶτον τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῆς προσχώσεως, ταχὺ δὲ πλήρους γενομένου διὰ πολυχειρίαν ἐπιπαρένησαν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου πλεῖστον ἐπισχεῖν, ἐμβαλόντες δὲ πῦρ ξὺν θείῳ καὶ πίσσῃ ἧψαν τὴν ὕλην. καὶ ἐγένετο φλὸξ τοσαύτη ὅσην οὐδείς πω ἔς γε ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον χειροποίητον εἶδεν· ἤδη γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσιν ὕλη τριφθεῖσα ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὑτὴν ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου πῦρ καὶ φλόγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκεν. τοῦτο δὲ μέγα τε ἦν καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς τἆλλα διαφυγόντας ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφθεῖραι· ἐντὸς γὰρ πολλοῦ χωρίου τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἦν πελάσαι, πνεῦμά τε εἰ ἐπεγένετο αὐτῇ ἐπίφορον, ὅπερ καὶ ἤλπιζον οἱ ἐναντίοι, οὐκ ἂν διέφυγον. νῦν δὲ καὶ τόδε λέγεται ξυμβῆναι, ὕδωρ [ἐξ οὐρανοῦ] πολὺ καὶ βροντὰς γενομένας σβέσαι τὴν φλόγα καὶ οὕτω παυσθῆναι τὸν κίνδυνον.

Οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτου διήμαρτον, μέρος μέν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες περιετείχιζον τὴν πόλιν κύκλῳ, διελόμενοι κατὰ πόλεις τὸ χωρίον· τάφρος δὲ ἐντός τε ἦν καὶ ἔξωθεν ἐξ ἧς ἐπλινθεύσαντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ πᾶν ἐξείργαστο περὶ ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς, καταλιπόντες φυλακὰς τοῦ ἡμίσεος τείχους (τὸ δὲ ἥμισυ Βοιωτοὶ ἐφύλασσον) ἀνεχώρησαν τῷ στρατῷ καὶ διελύθησαν

4 γι(γ)νομένου C G 7 παρέβαλον M P: παρέβαλλον cett. Suid. 15 αὑτὴν E: αὐτὴν cett. ἀπ' αὐτοῦ secl. Dobree 20 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ om. C P 24 στρατοῦ C E G P: στρατοπέδου A B F M πλέον C G P: λοιπὸν E M γρ. G¹: τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες om. A B F 28 φύλακας A B E F M

3 κατὰ πόλεις. Πλαταιῆς δὲ παῖδας μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ
τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἀχρεῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων
πρότερον ἐκκεκομισμένοι ἦσαν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας, αὐτοὶ δὲ
ἐπολιορκοῦντο ἐγκαταλελειμμένοι τετρακόσιοι, Ἀθηναίων δὲ
4 ὀγδοήκοντα, γυναῖκες δὲ δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν σιτοποιοί. τοσοῦτοι 5
ἦσαν οἱ ξύμπαντες ὅτε ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καθίσταντο, καὶ
ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἦν ἐν τῷ τείχει οὔτε δοῦλος οὔτ' ἐλεύθερος.
τοιαύτη μὲν ἡ Πλαταιῶν πολιορκία κατεσκευάσθη.

79 Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους καὶ ἅμα τῇ τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐπιστρα-
τείᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι διςχιλίοις ὁπλίταις ἑαυτῶν καὶ ἱππεῦσι δια- 10
κοσίοις ἐπεστράτευσαν ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ
Βοττιαίους ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου· ἐστρατήγει δὲ Ξενοφῶν
2 ὁ Εὐριπίδου τρίτος αὐτός. ἐλθόντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σπάρτωλον τὴν
Βοττικὴν τὸν σῖτον διέφθειραν. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ προσχωρήσειν
ἡ πόλις ὑπό τινων ἔνδοθεν πρασσόντων. προσπεμψάντων 15
δὲ ἐς Ὄλυνθον τῶν οὐ ταὐτὰ βουλομένων ὁπλῖταί τε ἦλθον
καὶ στρατιὰ ἐς φυλακήν· ἧς ἐπεξελθούσης ἐκ τῆς Σπαρτώλου
3 ἐς μάχην καθίστανται οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει. καὶ
οἱ μὲν ὁπλῖται τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ ἐπίκουροί τινες μετ' αὐ-
τῶν νικῶνται ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς τὴν 20
Σπάρτωλον, οἱ δὲ ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων καὶ ψιλοὶ νικῶσι
4 τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέας καὶ ψιλούς· εἶχον δέ τινας οὐ
πολλοὺς πελταστὰς ἐκ τῆς Κρουσίδος γῆς καλουμένης. ἄρτι
δὲ τῆς μάχης γεγενημένης ἐπιβοηθοῦσιν ἄλλοι πελτασταὶ
5 ἐκ τῆς Ὀλύνθου. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σπαρτώλου ψιλοὶ ὡς εἶδον, 25
θαρσήσαντες τοῖς τε προσγιγνομένοις καὶ ὅτι πρότερον οὐχ
ἥσσηντο, ἐπιτίθενται αὖθις μετὰ τῶν Χαλκιδέων ἱππέων καὶ
τῶν προσβοηθησάντων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ ἀναχωροῦσι πρὸς
6 τὰς δύο τάξεις ἃς κατέλιπον παρὰ τοῖς σκευοφόροις. καὶ
ὁπότε μὲν ἐπίοιεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀναχωροῦσι δ' 30

2 ἄχρηστον ABEFM γρ. G¹ 11 ἐστράτευσαν ABEFM
14 διέφθειρον ABEF 15 προπεμψάντων CG 16 ταῦτα
ABEFM 18 οἱ om. GM ὑπ'] πρὸς ABEFM[G] 27 ἥσσῶντο
ABEFM 30 ἀναχωροῦσι B: ἀποχωροῦσι cett.

ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόιτιζον. οἵ τε ἱππῆς τῶν Χαλκιδέων προσιππεύοντες ᾗ δοκοίη προσέβαλλον, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα φοβήσαντες ἔτρεψαν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ ἐπεδίωξαν ἐπὶ πολύ. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὴν Ποτείδαιαν καταφεύ- 7
γουσι, καὶ ὕστερον τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους κομισάμενοι ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀναχωροῦσι τῷ περιόντι τοῦ στρατοῦ· ἀπέθανον δὲ αὐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντες. οἱ δὲ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ Βοττιαῖοι τροπαῖόν τε ἔστησαν καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς τοὺς αὑτῶν ἀνελόμενοι διελύθησαν κατὰ πόλεις.

Τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τούτων, Ἀμ- 80
πρακιῶται καὶ Χάονες βουλόμενοι Ἀκαρνανίαν τὴν πᾶσαν καταστρέψασθαι καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἀποστῆσαι πείθουσι Λακεδαιμονίους ναυτικόν τε παρασκευάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς ξυμμαχίδος καὶ ὁπλίτας χιλίους πέμψαι ἐπ' Ἀκαρνανίαν, λέγοντες ὅτι, ἢν ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα μετὰ σφῶν ἔλθωσιν, ἀδυνάτων ὄντων ξυμβοηθεῖν τῶν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης Ἀκαρνάνων, ῥᾳδίως Ἀκαρνανίαν σχόντες, καὶ τῆς Ζακύνθου καὶ Κεφαλληνίας κρατήσουσι, καὶ ὁ περίπλους οὐκέτι ἔσοιτο Ἀθηναίοις ὁμοίως περὶ Πελοπόννησον· ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι καὶ Ναύπακτον λαβεῖν. οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πεισθέντες Κνῆμον μὲν 2
ναύαρχον ἔτι ὄντα καὶ τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ ναυσὶν ὀλίγαις εὐθὺς πέμπουσι, τῷ δὲ ναυτικῷ περιήγγειλαν παρασκευασαμένῳ ὡς τάχιστα πλεῖν ἐς Λευκάδα. ἦσαν δὲ Κορίνθιοι 3
ξυμπροθυμούμενοι μάλιστα τοῖς Ἀμπρακιώταις ἀποίκοις οὖσιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν ἔκ τε Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος καὶ τῶν ταύτῃ χωρίων ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦν, τὸ δ' ἐκ Λευκάδος καὶ Ἀνακτορίου καὶ Ἀμπρακίας πρότερον ἀφικόμενον ἐν Λευκάδι περιέμενεν. Κνῆμος δὲ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ χίλιοι 4

2 προσέβαλον E : ἐσέβαλλον C G 8 post alterum καὶ add. οἱ A B E F G M 9 alterius τοὺς om. C G αὑτῶν F¹ : αὐτῶν cett. 12 τὴν om. A B E F M 14 τε om. A B E F M παρασκευάσαι C G 15 ἐπ'] εἰς A B E F : ἐς M 17 post ῥᾳδίως add. ἂν A B E F M 20 ὁμοίως F : ὅμοιος cett. ἐλπίδας C 23 παρεσκευασμένῳ A B F

ὁπλῖται ἐπειδὴ ἐπεραιώθησαν λαθόντες Φορμίωνα, ὃς ἦρχε τῶν εἴκοσι νεῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν αἱ περὶ Ναύπακτον ἐφρούρουν, εὐθὺς παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν κατὰ γῆν στρατείαν. καὶ αὐτῷ παρῆσαν Ἑλλήνων μὲν Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι καὶ οὓς αὐτὸς ἔχων ἦλθε χίλιοι Πελοποννησίων, βάρβαροι δὲ Χάονες χίλιοι ἀβασίλευτοι, ὧν ἡγοῦντο ἐπετησίῳ προστατείᾳ ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ γένους Φώτιος καὶ Νικάνωρ. ξυνεστρατεύοντο δὲ μετὰ Χαόνων καὶ Θεσπρωτοὶ ἀβασίλευτοι. Μολοσσοὺς δὲ ἦγε καὶ Ἀτιντᾶνας Σαβύλινθος ἐπίτροπος ὢν Θάρυπος τοῦ βασιλέως ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ Παραυαίους Ὀροιδος βασιλεύων. Ὀρέσται δὲ χίλιοι, ὧν ἐβασίλευεν Ἀντίοχος, μετὰ Παραυαίων ξυνεστρατεύοντο Ὀροίδῳ Ἀντιόχου ἐπιτρέψαντος. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ Περδίκκας κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων χιλίους Μακεδόνων, οἳ ὕστερον ἦλθον. τούτῳ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπορεύετο Κνῆμος οὐ περιμείνας τὸ ἀπὸ Κορίνθου ναυτικόν, καὶ διὰ τῆς Ἀργείας ἰόντες Λιμναίαν, κώμην ἀτείχιστον, ἐπόρθησαν. ἀφικνοῦνταί τε ἐπὶ Στράτον, πόλιν μεγίστην τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας, νομίζοντες, εἰ ταύτην πρώτην λάβοιεν, ῥᾳδίως σφίσι τἆλλα προσχωρήσειν. FUT INFIN

81 Ἀκαρνᾶνες δὲ αἰσθόμενοι κατά τε γῆν πολλὴν στρατιὰν ἐσβεβληκυῖαν ἔκ τε θαλάσσης ναυσὶν ἅμα τοὺς πολεμίους παρεσομένους, οὔτε ξυνεβοήθουν ἐφύλασσόν τε τὰ αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι, παρά τε Φορμίωνα ἔπεμπον κελεύοντες ἀμύνειν· ὁ δὲ ἀδύνατος ἔφη εἶναι ναυτικοῦ ἐκ Κορίνθου μέλλοντος 2 ἐκπλεῖν Ναύπακτον ἐρήμην ἀπολιπεῖν. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι τρία τέλη ποιήσαντες σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Στρατίων πόλιν, ὅπως ἐγγὺς στρατοπεδευσάμενοι, εἰ μὴ λόγοις πείθοιεν, ἔργῳ πειρῷντο τοῦ τείχους. 3 καὶ μέσον μὲν ἔχοντες προσῆσαν Χάονες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι

7 ἐπετησίῳ C M : ἐπ' ἐτησίῳ cett. προστασίᾳ A B E F M Φώτιος cg : Φώτυος codd. 8 ἐστρατεύοντο A B E F M 11 βασιλεύων C : βασιλεὺς ὤν cett. 19 post ῥᾳδίως add. ἂν A B E F G M προσχωρῆσαι, ut videtur, G 29 λόγῳ C [G] 30 post καὶ add. τὸ C [G]

βάρβαροι, ἐκ δεξιᾶς δ' αὐτῶν Λευκάδιοι καὶ Ἀνακτόριοι καὶ οἱ μετὰ τούτων, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Κνῆμος καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ Ἀμπρακιῶται· διεῖχον δὲ πολὺ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ ἔστιν ὅτε οὐδὲ ἑωρῶντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες τεταγ- 4
μένοι τε προσῆσαν καὶ διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες, ἕως ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ· οἱ δὲ Χάονες σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς πιστεύοντες καὶ ἀξιούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνῃ ἠπειρωτῶν μαχιμώτατοι εἶναι οὔτε ἐπέσχον τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν, χωρήσαντές τε ῥύμῃ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων ἐνόμισαν αὐτοβοεὶ ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἑλεῖν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον γενέσθαι. γνόντες δ' αὐτοὺς οἱ Στράτιοι ἔτι προσιόντας 5
καὶ ἡγησάμενοι, μεμονωμένων εἰ κρατήσειαν, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι σφίσι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁμοίως προσελθεῖν, προλοχίζουσι δὴ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδραις, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς ἦσαν, ἔκ τε τῆς πόλεως ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνέδρων προσπίπτουσιν. καὶ ἐς φόβον καταστάντων διαφθείρονταί τε 6
πολλοὶ τῶν Χαόνων, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βάρβαροι ὡς εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἐνδόντας, οὐκέτι ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ἐς φυγὴν κατέστησαν. τῶν 7
δὲ Ἑλληνικῶν στρατοπέδων οὐδέτερον ᾔσθετο τῆς μάχης διὰ τὸ πολὺ προελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καὶ στρατόπεδον οἰηθῆναι καταληψομένους ἐπείγεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐνέκειντο φεύγοντες 8
οἱ βάρβαροι, ἀνελάμβανόν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ξυναγαγόντες τὰ στρατόπεδα ἡσύχαζον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐς χεῖρας μὲν οὐκ ἰόντων σφίσι τῶν Στρατίων διὰ τὸ μήπω τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀκαρνᾶνας ξυμβεβοηθηκέναι, ἄπωθεν δὲ σφενδονώντων καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν καθιστάντων· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ ὅπλων κινηθῆναι. δοκοῦσι δὲ οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες κράτιστοι εἶναι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ νὺξ ἐγένετο, ἀναχωρήσας ὁ Κνῆμος τῇ στρατιᾷ 82
κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄναπον ποταμόν, ὃς ἀπέχει σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα Στράτου, τούς τε νεκροὺς κομίζεται τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ὑποσπόνδους, καὶ Οἰνιαδῶν ξυμπαραγενομένων κατὰ φιλίαν ἀναχωρεῖ παρ' αὐτοὺς πρὶν τὴν ξυμβοήθειαν ἐλθεῖν. κἀκεῖθεν

9 ῥύμῃ γρ. G^1 : ῥώμῃ cett. 13 δὴ om. A B E F M

ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπῆλθον ἕκαστοι. οἱ δὲ Στράτιοι τροπαῖον ἔστησαν τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους.

83 Τὸ δ' ἐκ τῆς Κορίνθου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου ναυτικόν, ὃ ἔδει παραγενέσθαι τῷ Κνήμῳ, ὅπως μὴ ξυμβοηθῶσιν οἱ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω 'Ακαρνᾶνες, οὐ παραγίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθησαν περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἐν Στράτῳ μάχης ναυμαχῆσαι πρὸς Φορμίωνα καὶ τὰς εἴκοσι ναῦς τῶν 'Αθηναίων αἳ ἐφρούρουν ἐν 2 Ναυπάκτῳ. ὁ γὰρ Φορμίων παραπλέοντας αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ 3 κόλπου ἐτήρει, βουλόμενος ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ ἐπιθέσθαι. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔπλεον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίᾳ, ἀλλὰ στρατιωτικώτερον παρεσκευασμένοι ἐς τὴν 'Ακαρνανίαν καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι πρὸς ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς τὰς σφετέρας τολμῆσαι τοὺς 'Αθηναίους εἴκοσι ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ναυμαχίαν ποιήσασθαι· ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἀντιπαραπλέοντάς τε ἑώρων αὐτούς, παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κομιζομένων, καὶ ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς 'Αχαΐας πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἤπειρον διαβάλλοντες ἐπ' 'Ακαρνανίας κατεῖδον τοὺς 'Αθηναίους ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐήνου ποταμοῦ προσπλέοντας σφίσι καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ἀφορμισάμενοι, οὕτω δὴ ἀναγκάζονται 4 ναυμαχεῖν κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἦσαν μὲν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις ἑκάστων οἳ παρεσκευάζοντο, Κορινθίων 5 δὲ Μαχάων καὶ 'Ισοκράτης καὶ 'Αγαθαρχίδας. καὶ οἱ μὲν Πελοποννήσιοι ἐτάξαντο κύκλου τῶν νεῶν ὡς μέγιστον οἷοί τ' ἦσαν μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν, τὰς πρῴρας μὲν ἔξω, ἔσω δὲ τὰς πρύμνας, καὶ τά τε λεπτὰ πλοῖα ἃ ξυνέπλει ἐντὸς ποιοῦνται καὶ πέντε ναῦς τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, ὅπως ἐκπλέοιεν διὰ βραχέος παραγιγνόμενοι, εἴ πῃ προσπίπτοιεν 84 οἱ ἐναντίοι. οἱ δ' 'Αθηναῖοι κατὰ μίαν ναῦν τεταγμένοι

6 τὰς αὐτὰς] *ipsos dies* Valla : αὐτὰς τὰς Steup 11 ἐπέπλεον C G οὐχ om. M : ὡς οὐκ C G ναυμαχίαν A B E F M 18 διαβάλλοντες Stahl : διαβαλλόντων codd. 20 ἀφορμισάμενοι Bloomfield : ὑφορμισάμενοι codd 28 παραγιγνόμεναι C προσπλέοιεν A B E F M γρ. G[1]

amended secretly

περιέπλεον αὐτοὺς κύκλῳ καὶ ξυνῆγον ἐς ὀλίγον, ἐν χρῷ
αἰεὶ παραπλέοντες καὶ δόκησιν παρέχοντες αὐτίκα ἐμβαλεῖν·
προείρητο δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ Φορμίωνος μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν πρὶν ἂν
αὐτὸς σημήνῃ. ἤλπιζε γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐ μενεῖν τὴν τάξιν, 2
ὥσπερ ἐν γῇ πεζῇ, ἀλλὰ ξυμπεσεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας τὰς
ναῦς καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ταραχὴν παρέξειν, εἴ τ' ἐκπνεύσειεν ἐκ
τοῦ κόλπου τὸ πνεῦμα, ὅπερ ἀναμένων τε περιέπλει καὶ
εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω, οὐδένα χρόνον ἡσυχάσειν
αὐτούς· καὶ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ τε ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι,
ὁπόταν βούληται, τῶν νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν, καὶ τότε
καλλίστην γίγνεσθαι. ὡς δὲ τό τε πνεῦμα κατῆει καὶ αἱ 3
νῆες ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἤδη οὖσαι ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων, τοῦ τε ἀνέμου τῶν
τε πλοίων, ἅμα προσκειμένων ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ ναῦς τε νηὶ
προσέπιπτε καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς διεωθοῦντο, βοή τε χρώμενοι καὶ
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀντιφυλακῇ τε καὶ λοιδορίᾳ οὐδὲν κατήκουον
οὔτε τῶν παραγγελλομένων οὔτε τῶν κελευστῶν, καὶ τὰς
κώπας ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἐν κλύδωνι ἀναφέρειν ἄνθρωποι
ἄπειροι τοῖς κυβερνήταις ἀπειθεστέρας τὰς ναῦς παρεῖχον,
τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον σημαίνει, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι
προσπεσόντες πρῶτον μὲν καταδύουσι τῶν στρατηγίδων νεῶν
μίαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ᾗ χωρήσειαν διέφθειρον, καὶ
κατέστησαν ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν μηδένα τρέπεσθαι αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς
ταραχῆς, φεύγειν δὲ ἐς Πάτρας καὶ Δύμην τῆς Ἀχαΐας.
οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καταδιώξαντες καὶ ναῦς δώδεκα λαβόντες 4
τούς τε ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἀνελόμενοι ἐς
Μολύκρειον ἀπέπλεον, καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ
καὶ ναῦν ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Ναύ-
πακτον. παρέπλευσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι εὐθὺς ταῖς 5
περιλοίποις τῶν νεῶν ἐκ τῆς Δύμης καὶ Πατρῶν ἐς Κυλ-
λήνην τὸ Ἠλείων ἐπίνειον· καὶ ἀπὸ Λευκάδος Κνῆμος καὶ

6 *παρέχειν* A B E F M 8 *ἐπὶ*] *ὑπὸ* Krüger 9 *αὐτῷ* C G
17 *κλύδωνι* Phot. Suid.: *κλυδωνίῳ* codd. 21 *τὰς ἄλλας*] *πάσας*
A B E F M

αἱ ἐκείνων νῆες, ἃς ἔδει ταύταις ξυμμεῖξαι, ἀφικνοῦνται μετὰ τὴν ἐν Στράτῳ μάχην ἐς τὴν Κυλλήνην.

85 Πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῷ Κνήμῳ ξυμβούλους ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς Τιμοκράτη καὶ Βρασίδαν καὶ Λυκόφρονα, κελεύοντες ἄλλην ναυμαχίαν βελτίω παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ μὴ 5
2 ὑπ' ὀλίγων νεῶν εἴργεσθαι τῆς θαλάσσης. ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄλλως τε καὶ πρῶτον ναυμαχίας πειρασαμένοις πολὺς ὁ παράλογος εἶναι, καὶ οὐ τοσούτῳ ὤοντο σφῶν τὸ ναυτικὸν λείπεσθαι, γεγενῆσθαι δέ τινα μαλακίαν, οὐκ ἀντιτιθέντες τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐμπειρίαν τῆς σφετέρας δι' ὀλίγου 10
3 μελέτης. ὀργῇ οὖν ἀπέστελλον. οἱ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μετὰ τοῦ Κνήμου ναῦς τε προσπεριήγγειλαν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ τὰς
4 προϋπαρχούσας ἐξηρτύοντο ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν. πέμπει δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας τήν τε παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν ἀγγελοῦντας καὶ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἣν ἐνίκησαν φράσοντας, 15 καὶ κελεύων αὐτῷ ναῦς ὅτι πλείστας διὰ τάχους ἀποστεῖλαι, ὡς καθ' ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἐλπίδος οὔσης αἰεὶ ναυμαχήσειν.
5 οἱ δὲ ἀποπέμπουσιν εἴκοσι ναῦς αὐτῷ, τῷ δὲ κομίζοντι αὐτὰς προσεπέστειλαν ἐς Κρήτην πρῶτον ἀφικέσθαι. Νικίας γὰρ Κρὴς Γορτύνιος πρόξενος ὢν πείθει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Κυδωνίαν 20 πλεῦσαι, φάσκων προσποιήσειν αὐτὴν οὖσαν πολεμίαν· ἐπῆγε δὲ Πολιχνίταις χαριζόμενος ὁμόροις τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν.
6 καὶ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν τὰς ναῦς ᾤχετο ἐς Κρήτην, καὶ μετὰ τῶν Πολιχνιτῶν ἐδῄου τὴν γῆν τῶν Κυδωνιατῶν, καὶ ὑπ' ἀνέμων
86 καὶ ἀπλοίας ἐνδιέτριψεν οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον· οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ 25 Κυλλήνῃ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐν τούτῳ ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι περὶ Κρήτην κατείχοντο, παρεσκευασμένοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν παρέπλευσαν ἐς Πάνορμον τὸν Ἀχαϊκόν, οὗπερ αὐτοῖς ὁ κατὰ γῆν στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προσεβεβοηθήκει.
2 παρέπλευσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Μολυκρικὸν 30

1 ἐκείνων] ἐκεῖθεν A B E F M 5 κατασκευάζεσθαι A B E F M 12 τοῦ om. A B E F M περιήγγελλον A B E F M 16 αὐτῷ M : αὐτῶν vel αὑτῶν A B E F [G] 25 post καὶ add. ὑπὸ A B E F M 26 post περὶ add. τὴν M

καὶ ὥρμισατο ἔξω αὐτοῦ ναυσὶν εἴκοσιν, αἷσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησεν. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τὸ Ῥίον φίλιον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, 3
τὸ δ' ἕτερον Ῥίον ἐστὶν ἀντιπέρας, τὸ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ· διέχετον δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων σταδίους μάλιστα ἑπτὰ τῆς θα-
5 λάσσης, τοῦ δὲ Κρισαίου κόλπου στόμα τοῦτό ἐστιν. ἐπὶ 4
οὖν τῷ Ῥίῳ τῷ Ἀχαϊκῷ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Πανόρμου, ἐν ᾧ αὐτοῖς ὁ πεζὸς ἦν, ὥρμισαντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ναυσὶν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους εἶδον. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας ἀνθώρμουν 5
10 ἀλλήλοις μελετῶντές τε καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι τὴν ναυμαχίαν, γνώμην ἔχοντες οἱ μὲν μὴ ἐκπλεῖν ἔξω τῶν Ῥίων ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, φοβούμενοι τὸ πρότερον πάθος, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν ἐς τὰ στενά, νομίζοντες πρὸς ἐκείνων εἶναι τὴν ἐν ὀλίγῳ ναυμαχίαν. ἔπειτα ὁ Κνῆμος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας καὶ οἱ 6
15 ἄλλοι τῶν Πελοποννησίων στρατηγοί, βουλόμενοι ἐν τάχει τὴν ναυμαχίαν ποιῆσαι πρίν τι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιβοηθῆσαι, ξυνεκάλεσαν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρῶτον, καὶ ὁρῶντες αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὴν προτέραν ἧσσαν φοβουμένους καὶ οὐ προθύμους ὄντας παρεκελεύσαντο καὶ ἔλεξαν τοιάδε.
20 "Ἡ μὲν γενομένη ναυμαχία, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, 87
εἴ τις ἄρα δι' αὐτὴν ὑμῶν φοβεῖται τὴν μέλλουσαν, οὐχὶ INTERNAL ACC.
δικαίαν ἔχει τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι. τῇ τε γὰρ παρα- 2
σκευῇ ἐνδεὴς ἐγένετο, ὥσπερ ἴστε, καὶ οὐχὶ ἐς ναυμαχίαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ στρατείαν ἐπλέομεν· ξυνέβη δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ
25 τῆς τύχης οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐναντιωθῆναι, καί πού τι καὶ ἡ ἀπειρία πρῶτον ναυμαχοῦντας ἔσφηλεν. ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν 3
κακίαν τὸ ἡσσᾶσθαι προσεγένετο, οὐδὲ δίκαιον τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν, ἔχον δέ τινα ἐν αὑτῷ ἀντιλογίαν, τῆς γε ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι ἀμβλύνεσθαι, νομίσαι δὲ
30 ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,

3 Ῥίον secl. Cobet 4 διέχετον Benedict: διείχετον codd. 8 πεντήκοντα C 22 τὸ] τοῦ Stephanus 27 ἡσσῆσθαι A B E F M Lex. Vind. [G] 28 μὴ om. B αὑτῷ Stephanus: αὐτῷ codd. 29 γε c G: om. M: τε cett.

ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ ὀρθῶς ἀνδρείους εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἀπειρίαν τοῦ ἀνδρείου παρόντος προβαλλομένους εἰκότως ἂν ἔν τινι κακοὺς γενέσθαι. ὑμῶν δὲ οὐδ' ἡ ἀπειρία τοσοῦτον λείπεται ὅσον τόλμῃ προύχετε· τῶνδε δὲ ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἣν μάλιστα φοβεῖσθε, ἀνδρείαν μὲν ἔχουσα καὶ μνήμην ἔξει ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἐπιτελεῖν ἃ ἔμαθεν, ἄνευ δὲ εὐψυχίας οὐδεμία τέχνη πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσχύει. φόβος γὰρ μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει, τέχνη δὲ ἄνευ ἀλκῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐμπειρότερον αὐτῶν τὸ τολμηρότερον ἀντιτάξασθε, πρὸς δὲ τὸ διὰ τὴν ἧσσαν δεδιέναι τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι τότε τυχεῖν. περιγίγνεται δὲ ὑμῖν πλῆθός τε νεῶν καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ οἰκεία οὖσῃ ὁπλιτῶν παρόντων ναυμαχεῖν· τὰ δὲ πολλὰ τῶν πλεόνων καὶ ἄμεινον παρεσκευασμένων τὸ κράτος ἐστίν. ὥστε οὐδὲ καθ' ἓν εὑρίσκομεν εἰκότως ἂν ἡμᾶς σφαλλομένους· καὶ ὅσα ἡμάρτομεν πρότερον, νῦν αὐτὰ ταῦτα προσγενόμενα διδασκαλίαν παρέξει. θαρσοῦντες οὖν καὶ κυβερνῆται καὶ ναῦται τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἕκαστος ἕπεσθε, χώραν μὴ προλείποντες ᾗ ἂν τις προσταχθῇ. τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἡγεμόνων οὐ χεῖρον τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ἡμεῖς παρασκευάσομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδώσομεν πρόφασιν οὐδενὶ κακῷ γενέσθαι· ἢν δέ τις ἄρα καὶ βουληθῇ, κολασθήσεται τῇ πρεπούσῃ ζημίᾳ, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ τιμήσονται τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἄθλοις τῆς ἀρετῆς.'

88 Τοιαῦτα μὲν τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις οἱ ἄρχοντες παρεκελεύσαντο. ὁ δὲ Φορμίων δεδιὼς καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὀρρωδίαν καὶ αἰσθόμενος ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνιστάμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο, ἐβούλετο ξυγκαλέσας θαρσῦναί τε καὶ παραίνεσιν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ποιήσασθαι. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ αὐτοῖς ἔλεγε καὶ προπαρεσκεύαζε τὰς γνώμας ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος νεῶν τοσοῦτον, ἢν ἐπιπλέῃ, ὅτι οὐχ ὑπομενετέον ἐστί, καὶ οἱ

1 ἀνδρείους ὀρθῶς A B E F M 4 προέχετε (sic) G M : προσέχετε cett. 29 αὐτοῖς f M : αὐτοὺς cett. [G] 31 τοσούτων A B E F [G] post ὑπομενετέον add. αὐτοῖς A B E F M [G]

στρατιῶται ἐκ πολλοῦ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀξίωσιν ταύτην εἰλήφεσαν, μηδένα ὄχλον Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες Πελοποννησίων
G. νεῶν ὑποχωρεῖν· τότε δὲ πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ὄψιν ὁρῶν 3
αὐτοὺς ἀθυμοῦντας ἐβούλετο ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι τοῦ
θαρσεῖν, καὶ ξυγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔλεγε τοιάδε.

89 "Ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, πεφοβημένους τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ξυνεκάλεσα, οὐκ ἀξιῶν τὰ μὴ δεινὰ ἐν ὀρρωδίᾳ ἔχειν. οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ προνενικῆ- 2
σθαι καὶ μηδ' αὐτοὶ οἴεσθαι ὁμοίοι ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος
τῶν νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου παρεσκευάσαντο· ἔπειτα
ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, ὡς προσῆκον σφίσιν
ἀνδρείοις εἶναι, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ
πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες, καὶ οἴονται σφίσι
καὶ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ποιήσειν τὸ αὐτό. τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου 3
ἡμῖν μᾶλλον νῦν περιέσται, εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐκείνῳ,
ἐπεὶ εὐψυχίᾳ γε οὐδὲν προφέρουσι, τῷ δὲ ἑκάτεροί τι εἶναι
ἐμπειρότεροι θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν. Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε ἡγού- 4
μενοι αὐτῶν διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν ἄκοντας προσάγουσι
τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐς τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐνεχείρησαν
ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολὺ αὖθις ναυμαχεῖν. μὴ δὴ αὐτῶν τὴν 5
τόλμαν δείσητε. πολὺ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνοις πλείω φόβον
παρέχετε καὶ πιστότερον κατά τε τὸ προνενικηκέναι καὶ ὅτι
οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦνται μὴ μέλλοντάς τι ἄξιον τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ
πράξειν ἀνθίστασθαι ὑμᾶς. ἀντίπαλοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ πλείους, 6
ὥσπερ οὗτοι, τῇ δυνάμει τὸ πλέον πίσυνοι ἢ τῇ γνώμῃ
ἐπέρχονται· οἱ δὲ ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων, καὶ ἅμα οὐκ
ἀναγκαζόμενοι, μέγα τι τῆς διανοίας τὸ βέβαιον ἔχοντες
ἀντιτολμῶσιν. ἃ λογιζόμενοι οὗτοι τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι πλέον
πεφόβηνται ἡμᾶς ἢ τῇ κατὰ λόγον παρασκευῇ. πολλὰ δὲ 7
καὶ στρατόπεδα ἤδη ἔπεσεν ὑπ' ἐλασσόνων τῇ ἀπειρίᾳ, ἔστι

5 ἔλεγε C : ἔλεξε cett. 16 τι om. A B F M ἐμπειρότεροι εἶναι A B E F M 18 αὐτῶν] τῶν ξυμμάχων A B E F M 19 ἐπεχείρησαν A B E F M 24 ὑμᾶς C : ἡμᾶς cett. Schol. 26 πολλῷ E f g M : πολλῶν cett.

δὲ ἃ καὶ τῇ ἀτολμίᾳ· ὧν οὐδετέρου ἡμεῖς νῦν μετέχομεν.
8 τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα οὐκ ἐν τῷ κόλπῳ ἑκὼν εἶναι ποιήσομαι οὐδ' ἐσπλεύσομαι ἐς αὐτόν. ὁρῶ γὰρ ὅτι πρὸς πολλὰς ναῦς ἀνεπιστήμονας ὀλίγαις ναυσὶν ἐμπείροις καὶ ἄμεινον πλεούσαις ἡ στενοχωρία οὐ ξυμφέρει. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν ἐπιπλεύσειέ τις ὡς χρὴ ἐς ἐμβολήν, μὴ ἔχων τὴν πρόσοψιν τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ πολλοῦ, οὔτ' ἂν ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐν δέοντι πιεζόμενος· διέκπλοι τε οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδ' ἀναστροφαί, ἅπερ νεῶν ἄμεινον πλεουσῶν ἔργα ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἀνάγκη ἂν εἴη τὴν ναυμαχίαν πεζομαχίαν καθίστασθαι, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αἱ πλείους
9 νῆες κρείσσους γίγνονται. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἐγὼ ἔξω τὴν πρόνοιαν κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν· ὑμεῖς δὲ εὔτακτοι παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ μένοντες τά τε παραγγελλόμενα ὀξέως δέχεσθε, ἄλλως τε καὶ δι' ὀλίγου τῆς ἐφορμήσεως οὔσης, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ κόσμον καὶ σιγὴν περὶ πλείστου ἡγεῖσθε, ὃ ἔς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμίων ξυμφέρει καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐχ ἥκιστα,
10 ἀμύνεσθέ τε τούσδε ἀξίως τῶν προειργασμένων. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν μέγας ὑμῖν, ἢ καταλῦσαι Πελοποννησίων τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἢ ἐγγυτέρω καταστῆσαι Ἀθηναίοις τὸν φόβον
11 περὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. ἀναμιμνήσκω δ' αὖ ὑμᾶς ὅτι γενικήκατε αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλούς· ἡσσημένων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν αἱ γνῶμαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους ὁμοῖαι εἶναι.'

90 Τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων παρεκελεύσατο. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐπέπλεον ἐς τὸν κόλπον καὶ τὰ στενά, βουλόμενοι ἄκοντας ἔσω προαγαγεῖν αὐτούς, ἀναγαγόμενοι ἅμα ἕῳ ἔπλεον, ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ταξάμενοι τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν, ἔσω ἐπὶ τοῦ κόλπου,
2 δεξιῷ κέρᾳ ἡγουμένῳ, ὥσπερ καὶ ὥρμουν· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ

6 πρόσψιν Bekker 12 post ταῖς add. τε A B E F M 15 ὃ ἔς τε Stephanus : *quae . . . in aliis rebus* Valla : ὥστε codd. 16 πολεμικῶν A B E F M [G] : post πολεμίων add. καὶ A B E F M κἀν Hude 17 ἀμύνεσθέ C : ἀμύνασθε cett. δὲ A B E F M 24 prius δὲ] μὲν B F G M παρεκελεύετο A B F M 27 ἀναγόμενοι A B E F M 28 ἐπὶ] παρὰ C G

εἴκοσι ἔταξαν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, ὅπως, εἰ ἄρα νομίσας ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον αὐτοὺς πλεῖν ὁ Φορμίων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπιβοηθῶν ταύτῃ παραπλέοι, μὴ διαφύγοιεν πλέοντα τὸν ἐπίπλουν σφῶν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔξω τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κέρως, ἀλλ' αὗται αἱ νῆες περικλήσειαν. ὁ δέ, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνοι προσ- 3
εδέχοντο, φοβηθεὶς περὶ τῷ χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ ὄντι, ὡς ἑώρα ἀναγομένους αὐτούς, ἄκων καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐμβιβάσας ἔπλει παρὰ τὴν γῆν· καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἅμα τῶν Μεσσηνίων παρεβοήθει. ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ 4
κέρως παραπλέοντας καὶ ἤδη ὄντας ἐντὸς τοῦ κόλπου τε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ, ὅπερ ἐβούλοντο μάλιστα, ἀπὸ σημείου ἑνὸς ἄφνω ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἔπλεον, ὡς εἶχε τάχους ἕκαστος, ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ ἤλπιζον πάσας τὰς ναῦς ἀπολήψεσθαι. τῶν δὲ ἔνδεκα μέν τινες αἵπερ 5
ἡγοῦντο ὑπεκφεύγουσι τὸ κέρας τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν· τὰς δ' ἄλλας ἐπικατα-
λαβόντες ἐξέωσάν τε πρὸς τὴν γῆν ὑποφευγούσας καὶ διέφθειραν, ἄνδρας τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀπέκτειναν ὅσοι μὴ ἐξένευσαν αὐτῶν. καὶ τῶν νεῶν τινὰς ἀναδούμενοι εἷλκον 6
κενάς (μίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἷλον ἤδη), τὰς δέ τινας οἱ Μεσσήνιοι παραβοηθήσαντες καὶ ἐπεσβαίνοντες ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐπιβάντες ἀπὸ τῶν καταστρω-
μάτων μαχόμενοι ἀφείλοντο ἑλκομένας ἤδη.

Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐκράτουν τε καὶ 91
διέφθειραν τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς· αἱ δὲ εἴκοσι νῆες αὐτῶν αἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως ἐδίωκον τὰς ἔνδεκα ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἵπερ ὑπεξέφυγον τὴν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν· καὶ φθάνουσιν αὐτοὺς πλὴν μιᾶς νεὼς προκαταφυγοῦσαι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον, καὶ σχοῦσαι ἀντίπρωροι κατὰ τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον

1 post εἴκοσι add. ναῦς C G 3 ταύτῃ] αὐτῇ C G πλέοντες Dobree 5 αὗται A B E F M 14 τινες C : om. cett. [G] 20 εἷλον] εἶχον C G 25 διέφθειραν C : διέφθειρον c G : ἔφθειραν γρ. G : ἔφθειρον A B E F M 27 ὑποστροφὴν A B E F 28 ἐς] πρὸς C 29 σχοῦσαι f M : ἴσχουσαι cett. τὸ om. A B E F M

παρεσκευάζοντο ἀμυνούμενοι, ἦν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ σφᾶς
2 πλέωσιν. οἱ δὲ παραγενόμενοι ὕστερον ἐπαιάνιζόν τε ἅμα
πλέοντες ὡς νενικηκότες, καὶ τὴν μίαν ναῦν τῶν Ἀθηναίων
τὴν ὑπόλοιπον ἐδίωκε Λευκαδία ναῦς μία πολὺ πρὸ τῶν
3 ἄλλων. ἔτυχε δὲ ὁλκὰς ὁρμοῦσα μετέωρος, περὶ ἣν ἡ 5
Ἀττικὴ ναῦς φθάσασα καὶ περιπλεύσασα τῇ Λευκαδίᾳ
4 διωκούσῃ ἐμβάλλει μέσῃ καὶ καταδύει. τοῖς μὲν οὖν Πελο-
ποννησίοις γενομένου τούτου ἀπροσδοκήτου τε καὶ παρὰ
λόγον φόβος ἐμπίπτει, καὶ ἅμα ἀτάκτως διώκοντες διὰ τὸ
κρατεῖν αἱ μέν τινες τῶν νεῶν καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας ἐπέστη- 10
σαν τοῦ πλοῦ, ἀξύμφορον δρῶντες πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου
ἀντεφόρμησιν, βουλόμενοι τὰς πλείους περιμεῖναι, αἱ δὲ καὶ
92 ἐς βράχεα ἀπειρίᾳ χωρίων ὤκειλαν. τοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίους
ἰδόντας ταῦτα γιγνόμενα θάρσος τε ἔλαβε, καὶ ἀπὸ ἑνὸς
κελεύσματος ἐμβοήσαντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὥρμησαν. οἱ δὲ διὰ 15
τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀταξίαν ὀλίγου
μὲν χρόνον ὑπέμειναν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐτράποντο ἐς τὸν Πάνορμον,
2 ὅθενπερ ἀνηγάγοντο. ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάς
τε ἐγγὺς οὔσας μάλιστα ναῦς ἔλαβον ἓξ καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν
ἀφείλοντο, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ διαφθείραντες τὸ πρῶτον 20
ἀνεδήσαντο· ἄνδρας τε τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τινὰς δὲ καὶ
3 ἐζώγρησαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Λευκαδίας νεώς, ἣ περὶ τὴν
ὁλκάδα κατέδυ, Τιμοκράτης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος πλέων, ὡς ἡ
ναῦς διεφθείρετο, ἔσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, καὶ ἐξέπεσεν ἐς τὸν
4 Ναυπακτίων λιμένα. ἀναχωρήσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρο- 25
παῖον ἔστησαν, ὅθεν ἀναγαγόμενοι ἐκράτησαν, καὶ τοὺς
νεκροὺς καὶ τὰ ναυάγια ὅσα πρὸς τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἦν ἀνείλοντο,
5 καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις τὰ ἐκείνων ὑπόσπονδα ἀπέδοσαν. ἔστη-
σαν δὲ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τροπαῖον ὡς νενικηκότες τῆς
τροπῆς, ἃς πρὸς τῇ γῇ διέφθειραν ναῦς· καὶ ἥνπερ ἔλαβον 30

2 ἐπαιάνιζόν fG: ἐπαιώνιζόν cett. γρ. G¹ 6 καὶ περιπλεύσασα om. A B 12 ἀντεξόρμησιν A B E F M suprascr. G 24 ἑαυτόν C f M: αὑτὸν vel αὐτὸν cett. [G] 25 Ναυπάκτιον C G 26 ἀναγόμενοι A B E F M [G] 29 οἱ om. C 30 ναῦς διέφθειραν A B E F M

ναῦν, ἀνέθεσαν ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Ἀχαϊκὸν παρὰ τὸ τροπαῖον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φοβούμενοι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων βοήθειαν 6 ὑπὸ νύκτα ἐσέπλευσαν ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Κρισαῖον καὶ Κόρινθον ἅπαντες πλὴν Λευκαδίων. καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης 7 Ἀθηναῖοι ταῖς εἴκοσι ναυσίν, αἷς ἔδει πρὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας τῷ Φορμίωνι παραγενέσθαι, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον. καὶ τὸ θέρος ἐτελεύτα.

Πρὶν δὲ διαλῦσαι τὸ ἐς Κόρινθόν τε καὶ τὸν Κρισαῖον **93** κόλπον ἀναχωρῆσαν ναυτικόν, ὁ Κνῆμος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἀρχομένου τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐβούλοντο διδαξάντων Μεγαρέων ἀποπειρᾶσαι τοῦ Πειραιῶς τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἀθηναίων· ἦν δὲ ἀφύλακτος καὶ ἄκλητος εἰκότως διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν πολὺ τῷ ναυτικῷ. ἐδόκει δὲ λαβόντα τῶν ναυτῶν ἕκαστον τὴν κώπην καὶ τὸ 2 ὑπηρέσιον καὶ τὸν τροπωτῆρα πεζῇ ἰέναι ἐκ Κορίνθου ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς Ἀθήνας θάλασσαν καὶ ἀφικομένους κατὰ τάχος ἐς Μέγαρα καθελκύσαντας ἐκ Νισαίας τοῦ νεωρίου αὐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς, αἳ ἔτυχον αὐτόθι οὖσαι, πλεῦσαι εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ· οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἦν προφυλάσσον ἐν 3 αὐτῷ οὐδὲν οὔτε προσδοκία οὐδεμία μὴ ἄν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, οὐδ' εἰ διενοοῦντο, μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθέσθαι. ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθύς· 4 καὶ ἀφικόμενοι νυκτὸς καὶ καθελκύσαντες ἐκ τῆς Νισαίας τὰς ναῦς ἔπλεον ἐπὶ μὲν τὸν Πειραιᾶ οὐκέτι, ὥσπερ διενοοῦντο, καταδείσαντες τὸν κίνδυνον (καί τις καὶ ἄνεμος αὐτοὺς λέγεται κωλῦσαι), ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ πρὸς Μέγαρα ὁρῶν· καὶ φρούριον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἦν καὶ νεῶν τριῶν φυλακὴ τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν Μεγαρεῦσι μηδὲ

3 prius τὸν C M: om. cett. 4 πάντες A B E F M 12 post διδαξάντων add. τῶν C G 13 τοῦ λιμένος τῶν Ἀθηναίων secl. Naber 22, 23 οὔτ' . . . οὔτ' Bekker 28 λέγεται αὐτοὺς A B E F M

ἐκπλεῖν μηδέν. τῷ τε φρουρίῳ προσέβαλον καὶ τὰς τριήρεις ἀφείλκυσαν κενάς, τήν τε ἄλλην Σαλαμῖνα ἀπροσδοκήτοις
94 ἐπιπεσόντες ἐπόρθουν. ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας φρυκτοί τε ἤροντο πολέμιοι καὶ ἔκπληξις ἐγένετο οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐλάσσων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ 5
ᾤοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσπεπλευκέναι ἤδη, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ τήν τε Σαλαμῖνα ἡρῆσθαι καὶ παρὰ σφᾶς ὅσον οὐκ ἐσπλεῖν αὐτούς, ὅπερ ἄν, εἰ ἐβουλήθησαν μὴ κατοκνῆσαι,
2 ῥᾳδίως ἐγένετο, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄνεμος ἐκώλυσεν. βοηθήσαντες δὲ ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πανδημεὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ναῦς τε 10
καθεῖλκον καὶ ἐσβάντες κατὰ σπουδὴν καὶ πολλῷ θορύβῳ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαλαμῖνα ἔπλεον, τῷ πεζῷ δὲ
3 φυλακὰς τοῦ Πειραιῶς καθίσταντο. οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ὡς ἤσθοντο τὴν βοήθειαν, καταδραμόντες τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ λείαν λαβόντες καὶ τὰς τρεῖς 15
ναῦς ἐκ τοῦ Βουδόρου τοῦ φρουρίου κατὰ τάχος ἐπὶ τῆς Νισαίας ἀπέπλεον· ἔστι γὰρ ὅτι καὶ αἱ νῆες αὐτοὺς διὰ χρόνου καθελκυσθεῖσαι καὶ οὐδὲν στέγουσαι ἐφόβουν. ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰ Μέγαρα πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Κορίνθου ἀπεχώρησαν
4 πεζῇ· οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκέτι καταλαβόντες πρὸς τῇ Σαλαμῖνι 20
ἀπέπλευσαν καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο φυλακὴν ἤδη τοῦ Πειραιῶς μᾶλλον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐποιοῦντο λιμένων τε κλῄσει καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπιμελείᾳ.

95 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, τοῦ χειμῶνος τούτου ἀρχομένου, Σιτάλκης ὁ Τήρεω Ὀδρύσης Θρᾳκῶν βασιλεὺς 25
ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Περδίκκαν τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου Μακεδονίας βασιλέα καὶ ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, δύο ὑποσχέσεις τὴν μὲν βουλόμενος ἀναπρᾶξαι, τὴν δὲ αὐτὸς ἀποδοῦναι.
2 ὅ τε γὰρ Περδίκκας αὐτῷ ὑποσχόμενος, εἰ Ἀθηναίοις τε

7 Σαλαμῖνα ἡρῆσθαι] Σαλαμινίων πόλιν ἑαλωκέναι C G post ἡρῆσθαι add. ἐνόμιζον A B E F M 9 post ῥᾳδίως add. ἂν A B E F M 14 ἤσθάνοντο C 17 ἔπλεον A B E F M ὅ τι M : ὅτε cett. 19 τὰ om. C G ἐπὶ] ἀπὸ C G 20 πεζοὶ A B E F M 21 ἤδη] ἅμα A B E F M 27 ante δύο add. διὰ C E G

διαλλάξειεν ἑαυτὸν κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ πολέμῳ πιεζόμενον καὶ Φίλιππον τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ πολέμιον ὄντα μὴ καταγάγοι ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ, ἃ ὑπεδέξατο οὐκ ἐπετέλει· τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις αὐτὸς ὡμολογήκει, ὅτε τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιεῖτο, τὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Χαλκιδικὸν πόλεμον καταλύσειν. ἀμφοτέρων οὖν 3 ἕνεκα τὴν ἔφοδον ἐποιεῖτο καὶ τόν τε Φιλίππου υἱὸν Ἀμύνταν ὡς ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἦγε καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρέσβεις, οἳ ἔτυχον παρόντες τούτων ἕνεκα, καὶ ἡγεμόνα Ἄγνωνα· ἔδει γὰρ καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ναυσί τε καὶ στρατιᾷ ὡς πλείστῃ ἐπὶ τοὺς Χαλκιδέας παραγενέσθαι. ἀνίστησιν οὖν ἐκ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ὁρμώμενος πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς 96 ἐντὸς τοῦ Αἵμου τε ὄρους καὶ τῆς Ῥοδόπης Θρᾳκας, ὅσων ἦρχε μέχρι θαλάσσης [ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινόν τε πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον], ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἷμον Γέτας καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα μέρη ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν μᾶλλον τὴν τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου κατῴκητο· εἰσὶ δ' οἱ Γέται καὶ οἱ ταύτῃ ὅμοροί τε τοῖς Σκύθαις καὶ ὁμόσκευοι, πάντες ἱπποτοξόται. παρεκάλει δὲ καὶ τῶν ὀρεινῶν Θρᾳκῶν πολλοὺς 2 τῶν αὐτονόμων καὶ μαχαιροφόρων, οἳ Δῖοι καλοῦνται, τὴν Ῥοδόπην οἱ πλεῖστοι οἰκοῦντες· καὶ τοὺς μὲν μισθῷ ἔπειθεν, οἱ δ' ἐθελονταὶ ξυνηκολούθουν. ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας 3 καὶ Λαιαίους καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη Παιονικὰ ὧν ἦρχε καὶ ἔσχατοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὗτοι ἦσαν· μέχρι γὰρ Λαιαίων Παιόνων καὶ τοῦ Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ, ὃς ἐκ τοῦ Σκόμβρου ὄρους δι' Ἀγριάνων καὶ Λαιαίων ῥεῖ, [οὗ] ὡρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς Παίονας αὐτονόμους ἤδη. τὰ δὲ πρὸς Τριβαλλούς, καὶ 4 τούτους αὐτονόμους, Τρῆρες ὥριζον καὶ Τιλαταῖοι· οἰκοῦσι δ' οὗτοι πρὸς βορέαν τοῦ Σκόμβρου ὄρους καὶ παρήκουσι πρὸς ἡλίου δύσιν μέχρι τοῦ Ὀσκίου ποταμοῦ. ῥεῖ δ' οὗτος

13 ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινόν τε πόντον καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον non legit Schol. 23 γὰρ Λαιαίων C et γρ. A B F M : Γραιαίων καὶ cett. 24 Σκόμβρου f γρ. G¹ : Κοσμίου M : Σκομίου cett. δι' Ἀγριάνων Classen : διὰ Γρα(ι)αίων codd. 25 οὗ secl. Arnold 28 Σκόμβρου f : Κοσμίου M : Σκομίου cett.

ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ὅθενπερ καὶ ὁ Νέστος καὶ ὁ Ἕβρος· ἔστι δὲ ἐρῆμον τὸ ὄρος καὶ μέγα, ἐχόμενον τῆς Ῥοδόπης.

97 Ἐγένετο δὲ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ὀδρυσῶν μέγεθος ἐπὶ μὲν θάλασσαν καθήκουσα ἀπὸ Ἀβδήρων πόλεως ἐς τὸν Εὔξεινον πόντον μέχρι Ἴστρου ποταμοῦ· αὕτη περίπλους ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ τὰ ξυντομώτατα, ἣν αἰεὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἱστῆται τὸ πνεῦμα, νηὶ στρογγύλῃ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν καὶ ἴσων νυκτῶν· ὁδῷ δὲ τὰ ξυντομώτατα ἐξ Ἀβδήρων ἐς Ἴστρον ἀνὴρ εὔζωνος ἑνδεκαταῖος τελεῖ. τὰ μὲν πρὸς θάλασσαν τοσαύτη ἦν, ἐς ἤπειρον δὲ ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου ἐς Λαιαίους καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Στρυμόνα (ταύτῃ γὰρ διὰ πλείστου ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω ἐγίγνετο) ἡμερῶν ἀνδρὶ εὐζώνῳ τριῶν καὶ δέκα ἀνύσαι. φόρος τε ἐκ πάσης τῆς βαρβάρου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ὅσον προσῄξαν ἐπὶ Σεύθου, ὃς ὕστερον Σιτάλκου βασιλεύσας πλεῖστον δὴ ἐποίησε, τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἀργυρίου μάλιστα δύναμις, ἃ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος ἦγε· καὶ ὥρα οὐκ ἐλάσσω τούτων χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου προσεφέρετο, χωρὶς δὲ ὅσα ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεία καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κατασκευή, καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παραδυναστεύουσί τε καὶ γενναίοις Ὀδρυσῶν. κατεστήσαντο γὰρ τοὐναντίον τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας τὸν νόμον, ὄντα μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Θραξί, λαμβάνειν μᾶλλον ἢ διδόναι (καὶ αἴσχιον ἦν αἰτηθέντα μὴ δοῦναι ἢ αἰτήσαντα μὴ τυχεῖν), ὅμως δὲ κατὰ τὸ δύνασθαι ἐπὶ πλέον αὐτῷ ἐχρήσαντο· οὐ γὰρ ἦν πρᾶξαι οὐδὲν μὴ διδόντα δῶρα. ὥστε ἐπὶ μέγα ἡ βασιλεία ἦλθεν ἰσχύος τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὅσαι μεταξὺ τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου μεγίστη ἐγένετο χρημάτων προσόδῳ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ, ἰσχύι δὲ μάχης καὶ στρατοῦ πλήθει πολὺ δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν. ταύτῃ δὲ ἀδύνατα ἐξισοῦσθαι οὐχ ὅτι τὰ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ

1 post τοῦ add. Ὀρβηλοῦ Meineke 5 ante μέχρι add. τὸν A B E F G M 13 ὅσον Schol.: ὅσων codd. ὅσωνπερ ἦρξαν Dobree 16 εἴη A B M [G]: προσῄει Madvig 25 ἦλθε(ν) ἡ βασιλεία A B 29 τὴν] τῶν A B E F M

ἔθνος ἓν πρὸς ἓν οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι δυνατὸν Σκύθαις ὁμογνωμονοῦσι πᾶσιν ἀντιστῆναι. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ ξύνεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται.

Σιτάλκης μὲν οὖν χώρας τοσαύτης βασιλεύων παρε- 98
σκευάζετο τὸν στρατόν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ ἑτοῖμα ἦν, ἄρας
ἐπορεύετο ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ
ἀρχῆς, ἔπειτα διὰ Κερκίνης ἐρήμου ὄρους, ὅ ἐστι μεθόριον
Σιντῶν καὶ Παιόνων· ἐπορεύετο δὲ δι' αὐτοῦ τῇ ὁδῷ ἣν
πρότερον αὐτὸς ἐποιήσατο τεμὼν τὴν ὕλην, ὅτε ἐπὶ Παίονας
ἐστράτευσεν. τὸ δὲ ὄρος ἐξ Ὀδρυσῶν διιόντες ἐν δεξιᾷ μὲν 2
εἶχον Παίονας, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Σιντοὺς καὶ Μαιδούς. διελ-
θόντες δὲ αὐτὸ ἀφίκοντο ἐς Δόβηρον τὴν Παιονικήν.
πορευομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπεγίγνετο μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ στρατοῦ εἰ 3
μή τι νόσῳ, προσεγίγνετο δέ· πολλοὶ γὰρ τῶν αὐτονόμων
Θρᾳκῶν ἀπαράκλητοι ἐφ' ἁρπαγὴν ἠκολούθουν, ὥστε τὸ
πᾶν πλῆθος λέγεται οὐκ ἔλασσον πέντε καὶ δέκα μυριάδων
γενέσθαι· καὶ τούτου τὸ μὲν πλέον πεζὸν ἦν, τριτημόριον 4
δὲ μάλιστα ἱππικόν. τοῦ δ' ἱππικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτοὶ
Ὀδρύσαι παρείχοντο καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς Γέται. τοῦ δὲ πεζοῦ
οἱ μαχαιροφόροι μαχιμώτατοι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ῥοδόπης
αὐτόνομοι καταβάντες, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ξύμμεικτος πλήθει
φοβερώτατος ἠκολούθει. ξυνηθροίζοντο οὖν ἐν τῇ Δοβήρῳ 99
καὶ παρεσκευάζοντο, ὅπως κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐσβαλοῦσιν ἐς τὴν
κάτω Μακεδονίαν, ἧς ὁ Περδίκκας ἦρχεν. τῶν γὰρ Μακε- 2
δόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἐλιμιῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη
ἐπάνωθεν, ἃ ξύμμαχα μέν ἐστι τούτοις καὶ ὑπήκοα, βασιλείας
δ' ἔχει καθ' αὑτά. τὴν δὲ παρὰ θάλασσαν νῦν Μακεδονίαν 3
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Περδίκκου πατὴρ καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι αὐτοῦ,
Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἄργους, πρῶτοι ἐκτήσαντο
καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν ἀναστήσαντες μάχῃ ἐκ μὲν Πιερίας Πίερας,
οἳ ὕστερον ὑπὸ τὸ Πάγγαιον πέραν Στρυμόνος ᾤκησαν

5 βασιλεύων χώρας τοσαύτης Λ B E F M 30 πρῶτοι C : πρῶτον cett.

Φάγρητα καὶ ἄλλα χωρία (καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πιερικὸς κόλπος καλεῖται ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Παγγαίῳ πρὸς θάλασσαν γῆ), ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βοττίας καλουμένης Βοττιαίους, οἳ νῦν ὅμοροι Χαλκιδέων οἰκοῦσιν· τῆς δὲ Παιονίας παρὰ τὸν Ἀξιὸν ποταμὸν στενήν τινα καθήκουσαν ἄνωθεν μέχρι Πέλλης καὶ θαλάσσης ἐκτήσαντο, καὶ πέραν Ἀξιοῦ μέχρι Στρυμόνος τὴν Μυγδονίαν καλουμένην Ἠδῶνας ἐξελάσαντες νέμονται. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἐορδίας καλουμένης Ἐορδούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δέ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν κατῴκηται, καὶ ἐξ Ἀλμωπίας Ἄλμωπας. ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, τόν τε Ἀνθεμοῦντα καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Βισαλτίαν καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν. τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν Μακεδονία καλεῖται, καὶ Περδίκκας Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἦν ὅτε Σιτάλκης ἐπῆλθε.

100 Καὶ οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες οὗτοι ἐπιόντος πολλοῦ στρατοῦ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες ἀμύνεσθαι, ἔς τε τὰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὰ τείχη, ὅσα ἦν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐσεκομίσθησαν. ἦν δὲ οὐ πολλά, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον Ἀρχέλαος ὁ Περδίκκου υἱὸς βασιλεὺς γενόμενος τὰ νῦν ὄντα ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ᾠκοδόμησε καὶ ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε καὶ τἆλλα διεκόσμησε τά [τε] κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ κρείσσονι ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὀκτὼ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ἐκ τῆς Δοβήρου ἐσέβαλε πρῶτον μὲν ἐς τὴν Φιλίππου πρότερον οὖσαν ἀρχήν, καὶ εἶλεν Εἰδομενὴν μὲν κατὰ κράτος, Γορτυνίαν δὲ καὶ Ἀταλάντην καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα χωρία ὁμολογίᾳ διὰ τὴν Ἀμύντου φιλίαν προσχωροῦντα τοῦ Φιλίππου υἱέος παρόντος· Εὐρωπὸν δὲ ἐπολιόρκησαν μέν, ἑλεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐδύναντο. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην Μακεδονίαν προυχώρει τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Πέλλης καὶ Κύρρου. ἔσω δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν Βοττιαίαν καὶ Πιερίαν οὐκ ἀφίκοντο,

21 τε secl. Haacke 22 οἱ om. A B E F M 26 Γορδυνίαν Steph. Byz.

ἀλλὰ τήν τε Μυγδονίαν καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Ἀνθεμοῦντα
ἐδήουν. οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες πεζῷ μὲν οὐδὲ διενοοῦντο ἀμύ- 5
νεσθαι, ἵππους δὲ προσμεταπεμψάμενοι ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω ξυμμάχων, ὅπῃ δοκοίη, ὀλίγοι πρὸς πολλοὺς ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὸ
στράτευμα τῶν Θρᾳκῶν. καὶ ᾗ μὲν προσπέσοιεν, οὐδεὶς
ὑπέμενεν ἄνδρας ἱππέας τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τεθωρακισμένους,
ὑπὸ δὲ πλήθους περικλῃόμενοι αὐτοὺς πολλαπλασίῳ τῷ
ὁμίλῳ ἐς κίνδυνον καθίσταν, ὥστε τέλος ἡσυχίαν ἦγον,
οὐ νομίζοντες ἱκανοὶ εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πλέον κινδυνεύειν. ὁ δὲ 101
Σιτάλκης πρός τε τὸν Περδίκκαν λόγους ἐποιεῖτο ὧν ἕνεκα
ἐστράτευσε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐ παρῆσαν ταῖς ναυσίν,
ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτὸν μὴ ἥξειν, δῶρα δὲ καὶ πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν
αὐτῷ, ἔς τε τοὺς Χαλκιδέας καὶ Βοττιαίους μέρος τι τοῦ
στρατοῦ πέμπει, καὶ τειχήρεις ποιήσας ἐδήου τὴν γῆν.
καθημένου δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τοὺς χώρους τούτους οἱ πρὸς νότον 2
οἰκοῦντες Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ Μάγνητες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπήκοοι
Θεσσαλῶν καὶ οἱ μέχρι Θερμοπυλῶν Ἕλληνες ἐφοβήθησαν
μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁ στρατὸς χωρήσῃ, καὶ ἐν παρασκευῇ
ἦσαν. ἐφοβήθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πέραν Στρυμόνος πρὸς 3
βορέαν Θρᾷκες, ὅσοι πεδία εἶχον, Παναῖοι καὶ Ὀδόμαντοι
καὶ Δρῶοι καὶ Δερσαῖοι· αὐτόνομοι δ' εἰσὶ πάντες.
παρέσχε δὲ λόγον καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πολεμίους 4
Ἕλληνας, μὴ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγόμενοι κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν καὶ
ἐπὶ σφᾶς χωρήσωσιν. ὁ δὲ τήν τε Χαλκιδικὴν καὶ Βοττικὴν 5
καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἅμα ἐπέχων ἔφθειρε, καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ οὐδὲν
ἐπράσσετο ὧν ἕνεκα ἐσέβαλε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ σῖτόν τε οὐκ
εἶχεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπώρει, ἀναπείθεται ὑπὸ
Σεύθου τοῦ Σπαραδόκου, ἀδελφιδοῦ ὄντος καὶ μέγιστον μεθ'
ἑαυτοῦ δυναμένου, ὥστ' ἐν τάχει ἀπελθεῖν. τὸν δὲ Σεύθην
κρύφα Περδίκκας ὑποσχόμενος ἀδελφὴν ἑαυτοῦ δώσειν καὶ
χρήματα ἐπ' αὐτῇ προσποιεῖται· καὶ ὁ μὲν πεισθεὶς καὶ 6

2 οὐ C G 4 ἐσέβαλον A E F M 7 αὐτοὺς G : αὐτοὺς cett.
12 δὲ Poppo : τε codd. 29 ἑαυτὸν C F : αὐτὸν vel αὐτὸν cett. [G]

μείνας τριάκοντα τὰς πάσας ἡμέρας, τούτων δὲ ὀκτὼ ἐν Χαλκιδεῦσιν, ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' οἶκου· Περδίκκας δὲ ὕστερον Στρατονίκην τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφὴν δίδωσι Σεύθῃ, ὥσπερ ὑπέσχετο. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Σιτάλκου στρατείαν οὕτως ἐγένετο.

102 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυτικὸν διελύθη, Φορμίωνος ἡγουμένου ἐστράτευσαν, παραπλεύσαντες ἐπ' Ἀστακοῦ καὶ ἀποβάντες, ἐς τὴν μεσόγειαν τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας τετρακοσίοις μὲν ὁπλίταις Ἀθηναίων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, τετρακοσίοις δὲ Μεσσηνίων, καὶ ἔκ τε Στράτου καὶ Κορόντων καὶ ἄλλων χωρίων ἄνδρας οὐ δοκοῦντας βεβαίους εἶναι ἐξήλασαν, καὶ Κύνητα τὸν Θεολύτου ἐς Κόροντα καταγαγόντες ἀνεχώρησαν
2 πάλιν ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς. ἐς γὰρ Οἰνιάδας αἰεί ποτε πολεμίους ὄντας μόνους Ἀκαρνάνων οὐκ ἐδόκει δυνατὸν εἶναι χειμῶνος ὄντος στρατεύειν· ὁ γὰρ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ῥέων ἐκ Πίνδου ὄρους διὰ Δολοπίας καὶ Ἀγραίων καὶ Ἀμφιλόχων καὶ διὰ τοῦ Ἀκαρνανικοῦ πεδίου, ἄνωθεν μὲν παρὰ Στράτον πόλιν, ἐς θάλασσαν δ' ἐξιεὶς παρ' Οἰνιάδας καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς περιλιμνάζων, ἄπορον ποιεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἐν χειμῶνι
3 στρατεύειν. κεῖνται δὲ καὶ τῶν νήσων τῶν Ἐχινάδων αἱ πολλαὶ καταντικρὺ Οἰνιαδῶν τοῦ Ἀχελῴου τῶν ἐκβολῶν οὐδὲν ἀπέχουσαι, ὥστε μέγας ὢν ὁ ποταμὸς προσχοῖ αἰεὶ καὶ εἰσὶ τῶν νήσων αἳ ἠπείρωνται, ἐλπὶς δὲ καὶ πάσας οὐκ
4 ἐν πολλῷ τινὶ ἂν χρόνῳ τοῦτο παθεῖν· τό τε γὰρ ῥεῦμά ἐστι μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θολερόν, αἵ τε νῆσοι πυκναί, καὶ ἀλλήλαις τῆς προσχώσεως [τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι] ξύνδεσμοι γίγνονται, παραλλὰξ καὶ οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον κείμεναι, οὐδ'
5 ἔχουσαι εὐθείας διόδους τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος. ἐρῆμοι δ' εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ μεγάλαι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμέωνι τῷ

4 οὖν F¹ G M : om. cett. 6 τοῦ αὐτοῦ] τοῦδε τοῦ A B E F M 19 δ' ἐξιεὶς Poppo : διεξιεὶς codd. 27 τῷ (τὸ C E) μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι, ut videtur, non legit Schol. 30 Ἀλκμαίωνι A B F G

'Αμφιάρεω, ὅτε δὴ ἀλᾶσθαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῆς μητρός, τὸν 'Απόλλω ταύτην τὴν γῆν χρῆσαι οἰκεῖν, ὑπειπόντα οὐκ εἶναι λύσιν τῶν δεινμάτων πρὶν ἂν εὑρὼν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατοικίσηται ἥτις ὅτε ἔκτεινε τὴν μητέρα μήπω ὑπὸ ἡλίου ἑωρᾶτο μηδὲ γῇ ἦν, ὡς τῆς γε ἄλλης αὐτῷ μεμιασμένης. ὁ δ' ἀπορῶν, ὥς φασι, μόλις κατευόησε τὴν πρόσχωσιν ταύτην τοῦ 'Αχελῴου, καὶ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἱκανὴ ἂν κεχῶσθαι δίαιτα τῷ σώματι ἀφ' οὗπερ κτείνας τὴν μητέρα οὐκ ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπλανᾶτο. καὶ κατοικισθεὶς ἐς τοὺς περὶ Οἰνιάδας τόπους ἐδυνάστευσέ τε καὶ ἀπὸ 'Ακαρνᾶνος παιδὸς ἑαυτοῦ τῆς χώρας τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐγκατέλιπεν. τὰ μὲν περὶ 'Αλκμέωνα τοιαῦτα λεγόμενα παρελάβομεν.

Οἱ δὲ 'Αθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ Φορμίων ἄραντες ἐκ τῆς 'Ακαρνανίας καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τὴν Ναύπακτον ἅμα ἦρι κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὰς 'Αθήνας, τούς τε ἐλευθέρους τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐκ τῶν ναυμαχιῶν ἄγοντες, οἳ ἀνὴρ ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς ἐλύθησαν, καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἃς εἷλον. καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα οὗτος, καὶ τρίτον ἔτος τῷ πολέμῳ ἐτελεύτα τῷδε ὃν Θουκυδίδης ξυνέγραψεν.

103

2

7 ἀνακεχῶσθαι a ἂν secl. Herwerden 12 'Αλκμαίωνα A B F λέγομεν ἃ A B E F¹ M

BOOK II

I *Introductory.*

Ἄρχεται δὲ ὁ πόλεμος ἐνθένδε ἤδη: 'the narrative of the war begins at this point'. Thuc. has just concluded the preliminary narrative which he announced in i. 23. 4 *ἤρξαντο δὲ αὐτοῦ* (sc. *τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου*) *Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι λύσαντες τὰς τριακοντούτεις σπονδὰς αἳ αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο μετὰ Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν. διότι δ' ἔλυσαν, τὰς αἰτίας προύγραψα πρῶτον καὶ τὰς διαφοράς, τοῦ μή τινα ζητῆσαί ποτε ἐξ ὅτου τοσοῦτος πόλεμος τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατέστη. ἐνθένδε* refers to the final chapter of Book I, where the period of 'grievances and differences' (*αἰτίαι καὶ διαφοραί*) is spoken of as preceding the war. [The other view is that *ἄρχεται* is historic present, and that *ἐνθένδε* refers to the attempt on Plataea, the account of which begins in ch. 2; but the gap is so great as to make the reference obscure.]

οὔτε ἐπεμείγνυντο ἔτι ἀκηρυκτεὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους: contrast i. 146 *ἐπεμείγνυντο δὲ ὅμως ἐν αὐταῖς* (sc. *ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ διαφοραῖς*) *καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐφοίτων ἀκηρύκτως μέν, ἀνυπόπτως δὲ οὔ.*

καταστάντες: 'taking up a definite position (of hostility)', in the interval between the attempt on Plataea and the invasion of Attica.

ξυνεχῶς ἐπολέμουν: these words refer to the Ten Years' War, for hostilities were interrupted by the Peace of Nicias and intercourse without heralds was resumed: v. 35. 2 *καὶ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο πᾶν ἐπιμειξίαι μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Πελοποννησίοις. ξυνεχῶς* is justified by the fact that, in spite of the truce of 423 B.C. (iv. 117), fighting continued on the Thracian coast.

γέγραπται: the perfect does not show that the passage was written after the close of the war; it is used by anticipation; cp. v. 26. 1 *γέγραφε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ὁ αὐτὸς Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος.*

κατὰ θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα: Thuc. divides the year into two seasons, *θέρος* being the period of about eight months favourable for campaigning, and *χειμών* comprising the four winter months (*μηνῶν*

τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν, vi. 21. 2). His *θέρος* thus includes spring and autumn as well as summer. The lack of uniformity in the calendar would have made it extremely awkward to date events by the *months* in which they occurred : the months had different names in different states, and an Attic month did not necessarily begin on the same day of the year as (say) a Spartan month. The chronology of Thuc. is discussed in the Introduction, pp. xiv–xvii.

2–6 *A party of Thebans gain admission to Plataea by treachery, but are overpowered by the inhabitants, who take most of them prisoners. The main body of the Thebans, coming to the rescue, are induced to retire by the promise that the prisoners shall be given up to them. The Plataeans massacre the prisoners, and receive support from Athens.*

2 1 **γάρ** : the particle introduces the detailed narrative of the war.

μετ' Εὐβοίας ἅλωσιν : in 445 B.C. (i. 114).

ἐπὶ Χρυσίδος ἐν Ἄργει . . . ἱερωμένης : Thuc. marks the date of the outbreak of hostilities by the various methods employed in the three leading states of Greece ; similarly, in v. 25. 1 he dates the Peace of Nicias by the names of the Spartan Ephor and the Athenian Archon. At Argos time was reckoned by the year of office of the priestess of Hera ; at Sparta the president of the board of Ephors gave his name to the year, as did the *ἄρχων ἐπώνυμος* at Athens.

Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις : 'when Pythodorus had two months of his archonship at Athens still to run'. The Archons entered on office on the first of Hecatombaeon, a date which might fall any time between the latter part of June and the early part of August. Taking the earliest possible date, we get the latter part of April for the date of the attempt on Plataea. But this is inconsistent with *ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ* (below) and with the conclusion to be drawn from the expression *τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος* in 19. 1 (see note ad loc.). These indications, together with the words *τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός* (4. 2), point to the beginning of March ; hence Krüger's conjecture *τέσσαρας* for *δύο* is extremely probable. See Introduction, p. xvi.

μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἕκτῳ : the battle was fought on the Isthmus of Pallene, and the defeat of the Potidaeans and Peloponnesians by the Athenians was followed by the blockade of the

town (i. 62–4). The numeral *ἕκτῳ* cannot be right: according to i. 125. 2 there was an interval of nearly a year between the vote of the Peloponnesian confederacy for war and the invasion of Attica, and according to ii. 19. 1 the attempt on Plataea occurred about $2\frac{1}{2}$ months before the invasion; this gives an interval of (say) $8\frac{1}{2}$ months between the vote and the attempt on Plataea, and the battle of Potidaea preceded the vote. Lipsius conjectured that *δεκάτῳ καί* had fallen out after *ἕκτῳ καί*.

ὀλίγῳ πλείους τριακοσίων: Herodotus, in a casual allusion (vii. 233), gives the number as 400.

βοιωταρχοῦντες: the Boeotarchs held the supreme military command and were also the most important members of the executive of the Boeotian League. It is now established, on the authority of the historian (? Theopompus) of whose work a fragment has been found at Oxyrhynchus (*Oxyr. Papyri*, v, p. 224), that the total number of Boeotarchs was eleven, four of them being appointed by the Thebans, two for Thebes and two for Plataea and the towns formerly subject to it.

περὶ πρῶτον ὕπνον: at the time when the sleepers were least likely to wake.

Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίδα: according to the reckoning in Thuc. iii. 68. 5 the alliance was formed in 519 B.C. Grote's arguments that the narrative of Herodotus (vi. 108) makes it necessary to assume a later date, after the expulsion of Hippias from Athens in 510, are answered by J. Wells in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxv. (1905), pp. 197 sqq.

2 **Ναυκλείδης τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ**: they are described by the Thebans (iii. 65. 2) as *ἄνδρες ὑμῶν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ γένει*.

3 **ἔπραξαν δὲ ταῦτα**: *πράσσειν* is often used by Thuc. of negotiation and intrigue.

ἔτι: to be joined closely with *ἐν εἰρήνῃ*; cp. 3. 4 *ἔτι νύκτα*.

4 **θέμενοι . . . τὰ ὅπλα**: 'taking up their position', lit. 'grounding their arms', resting spear and shield on the ground, but retaining hold of them. Other meanings of the expression *τὰ ὅπλα τίθεσθαι* are (1) 'to pile arms', e.g. before encamping; (2) 'to lay down one's arms' in token of surrender.

ἔργου ἔχεσθαι: 'to proceed to action'.

γνώμην ἐποιοῦντο = *ἐγίγνωσκον*, 'they resolved'.

3 1 **πλείους**: i. e. more than there really were.

τοὺς λόγους: 'the proposals' made in the proclamation.

ἐνεωτέριζον: sc. *οἱ Θηβαῖοι*.

2 **πως**: 'somehow', 'as best they could'.

κρατήσειν: all the MSS. have *κρατῆσαι*, the future occurring only in a quotation by Aeneas Tacticus. In thirteen other passages where the MSS. give the aorist infinitive after a verb of saying, thinking, hoping, &c., with obvious reference to the future, we should probably either substitute the fut. infin. for the aorist, or add *ἄν* to the latter.

τῷ γὰρ πλήθει . . . οὐ βουλομένῳ ἦν: an instance of the Greek fondness for the personal construction; cp. 60. 1 *προσδεχομένῳ μοι . . . γεγένηται*.

3 **ἐπιχειρητέα**: in impersonal expressions a neuter adjective (especially the verbal in *-τέος*) is often put in the plural instead of the singular. The usage is rare in Attic prose apart from Thucydides.

διορύσσοντες τοὺς κοινοὺς τοίχους: *κοινὸς τοῖχος* is the party-wall belonging equally to two contiguous houses; the soft bricks of which these walls were built could easily be dislodged by the pick-axe; cf. *τοιχωρύχος*, 'a burglar'.

ἵνα ἀντὶ τείχους ᾖ: the subject of the verb is 'the structure thus formed', implied in the preceding clause.

4 **ἑτοῖμα ἦν**: sc. *τὰ πράγματα*.

φυλάξαντες ἔτι νύκτα καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ περίορθρον: *ἔτι* goes closely with *νύκτα*, and *καί* introduces a more exact statement of the time. For the close connexion of the adverb and noun cp. i. 30. 4 *χειμῶνος ἤδη ἀνεχώρησαν*.

καὶ σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου γίγνωνται: the subject of this clause is *οἱ Θηβαῖοι*.

φοβερώτεροι: *φοβερός* is here used in the less usual sense of 'full of fear', 'afraid'; cp. iv. 128. 4 *ἐν νυκτερινῇ καὶ φοβερᾷ ἀναχωρήσει*.

4 2 **προσβαλόντων . . . χρωμένων . . . βαλλόντων**: the present participles are used of the circumstances accompanying the main action, which is expressed by the aorist.

κεράμῳ: collective, 'tiling'.

οἱ πλείους: inserted as an afterthought, to limit the reference of *ἄπειροι ὄντες*.

τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός: the lunar month was reckoned as $29\frac{1}{2}$ days, which is too short, the necessary correction being made by various systems of intercalation. As Thuc. mentions the end of the month as the explanation of the darkness, the calendar must in this instance have been approximately correct. There was a new moon on March 9, 431 B. C.

τοῦ μὴ ἐκφεύγειν: these words are best joined with *ἐμπείρους*; the Plataeans were well acquainted with the means of preventing the escape of the Thebans. The subject of the infinitive, if expressed, would be *τοὺς πλείους*. The alternative is to interpret, 'in order that they might not escape' (see note on 22. 1); but this is superfluous after *διώκοντας*.

οἱ πολλοί: i. e. the majority of *οἱ πλείους*, not of the whole number, as is evident from 5. 7.

3 στυρακίῳ ἀκοντίου ἀντὶ βαλάνου χρησάμενος ἐς τὸν μοχλόν: the iron pin (*βάλανος*) which secured the bar to the gate-post could be withdrawn only by a special kind of hook called *βαλανάγρα*. *ἐς* is used pregnantly with *χρησάμενος*, for it is implied that the spike was put into the hole in the bar.

4 οἱ πλείους: as in § 2 above.

ἐρήμους: 'unguarded'.

5 ὃ ἦν τοῦ τείχους καὶ αἱ θύραι ἀνεῳγμέναι ἔτυχον αὐτοῦ: *πλησίον*, which A B E F read after *αἱ*, gives no satisfactory sense in that position: many editors transpose it so as to stand after *τείχους*. The demonstrative *αὐτοῦ* is in accordance with the regular idiom which avoids the repetition of the relative pronoun in a different case from that which has been already used.

5 1 οὓς ἔδει . . . παραγενέσθαι: in accordance with previous agreement.

ἅμα: indicating an additional reason for the action of *οἱ ἄλλοι* Θ.

περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων: the message had been dispatched while the struggle was still in progress, as is evident from § 3.

3 τῶν δὲ ζώντων ἐχομένων: *ζώντων* is predicative; cp. § 5 *οὓς ἔχουσι ζῶντας*.

4 κατασκευή: here used of farm stock and household effects; the permanent belongings as opposed to temporary equipment (*παρασκευή*).

οἷα: used like *ἅτε*, 'inasmuch as', to emphasize the causal use of the participle.

5 ὅσια: 'in accordance with divine law', which was contravened by the breaking of the truce made under oath.

πειράσαντες: this, or *πειρασάμενοι*, is the usual form of the aorist participle in Thucydides; *πειραθέντες*, which A B E F have here, occurs in two other places, and is the usual form in other Attic prose writers.

τά τε ἔξω ἔλεγον: the introduction of a finite verb causes a slight irregularity of construction after *λέγοντες ὅτι οὔτε*.

εἰ δὲ μή: used regularly even when, as here, the alternative already mentioned is negative in form.

6 ἤν τι ξυμβαίνωσι: 'to see whether they could come to some arrangement'.

7 δ' οὖν: dismissing the disputed point, and resuming the narrative.

6 1 τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν: Greek sentiment required the victorious party to grant a temporary truce for the removal of the bodies of the slain.

2 ἠγγέλθη: this does not refer to the messenger mentioned in § 1, but to the two earlier messengers of § 3.

νεώτερον ποιεῖν = *νεωτερίζειν*.

4 τοὺς ἀχρειοτάτους: cp. 78. 3 *τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἀχρεῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων*.

7, 8 *The Athenians and Peloponnesians prepare for war, exciting keen interest throughout Hellas.*

7 1 ἐν Πλαταιαῖς: Thuc. uses the plural form only here and in 10. 1. Note the difference in accentuation from the singular Πλάταια.

παρὰ βασιλέα καὶ ἄλλοσε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους: see ch. 67 for the Peloponnesian embassy to the Persian king and to Sitalces of Thrace. If a comma is put after *πολεμήσοντες*, there will be also a reference to the Athenian negotiations with Sitalces, ch. 29 and 67.

2 Λακεδαιμονίοις: dative of the agent.

αὐτοῦ: i. e. in the harbours of Peloponnesus.

ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τἀκείνων ἑλομένοις: *αἱρεῖσθαι τά τινος*, 'to take one's side'; cp. *φρονεῖν τά τινος*. The prepositional phrase is put before the article for emphasis. The reference is to the Dorian colonies in Italy and Sicily, which however contributed no ships until 412 B.C. (viii. 26. 1).

ναῦς ἐπετάχθη ποιεῖσθαι: *ἐπετάχθησαν*, the reading of the best MSS., gives no satisfactory sense. It may have arisen from *ἐπετάχθη σ'* (so Herbst), since Diodorus xii. 41 gives the number as 200.

ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ . . . δεχομένους: the participles agree with the (unexpressed) subject of the infinitives *ποιεῖσθαι* and *ἑτοιμάζειν*.

μιᾷ νηί: sc. *καταπλέοντας*: the full expression occurs in vi. 52. 1.

3 **μᾶλλον**: 'preferably'.

1 **τότε δέ**: of the particular occasion in question, as contrasted with the general statement in the preceding clause.

νεότης πολλὴ μὲν οὖσα: in consequence of the fourteen years of peace.

μετέωρος: 'in a state of excitement'. The notion is that of being raised above the ordinary level; hence the application of the word to elevated positions on land or to ships on the high seas.

2 **πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγετο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ᾖδον**: *λόγια* belongs to both clauses, some of the oracles being in prose, others in metrical form. *χρησμολόγοι* were collectors and interpreters of oracles. The plural *ἐλέγοντο* (A B E F) may be justified by the desire to emphasize the number of the oracles; cp. vi. 62. 4 *ἐγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα*.

3 **Δῆλος ἐκινήθη . . . πρότερον οὔπω σεισθεῖσα**: but Herodotus, vi. 98, speaking of an event shortly before the battle of Marathon, says, *Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Δήλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα*. The probability is that each author is partly right, and partly wrong; that there were two earthquakes, and that the uniqueness of the phenomenon was in each case wrongly asserted. See note on 97. 5.

4 **παρὰ πολύ**: with *μᾶλλον*.

ἐποίει . . . ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους: lit. 'was efficacious towards the Lacedaemonians'; as we say, 'made for the Lacedaemonians', 'inclined towards the Lacedaemonians.' This use of *ποιεῖν* is imitated by Arrian and Appian. Cp. Lat. *facere cum aliquo*.

προειπόντων: genitive absolute, as often in Thuc., although the participle refers to *τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους*.

καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ: *καὶ . . . καί* instead of *ἤ . . . ἤ*, offering a choice.

ξυνεπιλαμβάνειν: elsewhere Thuc. always uses the middle voice.

ἐν τούτῳ: antecedent to *ᾧ*.

κεκωλῦσθαι: 'to be (already) at a standstill'; the perfect by

anticipation, to show the certainty of their belief, although the future is used in the relative clause. Somewhat similar language is used in iv. 14. 2, of the Spartans at the attack on Pylos, *καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἕκαστος ᾧ μή τινι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ παρῆν.*

5 ⟨ἐν⟩ ὀργῇ εἶχον: *ἐν* must be added (with Stephanus), for there is no other instance of the dative alone; cp. 21. 3.

9 *Enumeration of the allies of either side.*

2 οἱ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ: these words are added to make it clear that Πελοποννήσιοι is used in its strictly geographical sense, and not as a general term for the members of the confederacy; see note on 13. 1 *τῶν Πελοποννησίων.*

ἔπειτα δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἅπαντες: in the third year of the war the change in the attitude of the Achaeans had taken place: see ch. 83–92.

Λοκροί: i.e. the Eastern (Epicnemidian and Opuntian) Locrians. The Western (Ozolian) Locrians were on the side of Athens (iii. 95. 3).

Φωκῆς: i.e. the Phocian government. The Phocian people were friendly to Athens (iii. 95. 1).

3 ναυτικὸν παρείχοντο . . . πεζὸν παρεῖχον: as the middle voice lays stress on the personal interest taken by the subject in the action, it is used when the subject is the name of a people, as here Κορίνθιοι κτλ. The active on the other hand is used of the official action of a government, as here *πόλεις.*

4 Μεσσήνιοι οἱ ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ: at the end of the revolt known as the Third Messenian War (464–455 B.C.) a number of Helots and Perioeci had been settled by the Athenians at Naupactus, which they had lately taken from the Ozolian Locrians (i. 102, 103).

Ἀκαρνάνων οἱ πλείους: the exceptions were Astacus and Oeniadae (ii. 30. 1, 102. 2).

καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ὑποτελεῖς οὖσαι: as distinguished from the states already named, which were *αὐτόνομοι ξύμμαχοι.*

Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ: this and the following nominatives are used, in spite of the preceding dative *ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε*, for the sake of symmetry with the earlier part of the list.

Δωριῆς Καρσὶ πρόσοικοι: so called to distinguish them from the Dorians in general and from the people of the small district of Doris in northern Greece.

τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης: the common designation of the sea-board between the Thermaic Gulf and the Hebrus.

πᾶσαι αἱ Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας: the first three words are unnecessary, as the Cyclades are included in *νῆσοι ὅσαι . . . ἀνίσχοντα*, and many editors reject them (or Κυκλάδες only, reading *πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι*) on the ground that they imply a contrast, not in accordance with the facts, with the preceding clause. The construction is rather to be explained as a case of partitive apposition. Melos and Thera were colonies from Sparta.

[The enumeration by Thuc. of the groups of tributary states agrees with that given in the quota-lists (preserved in inscriptions) for the years Ol. 84. 2 to Ol. 85. 1, except that in the latter the Dorian states are included in the *Καρικὸς φόρος*.]

10 *The Peloponnesian allies muster at the Isthmus.*

1 τά τε ἐπιτήδεια οἷα εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ἔξοδον ἔκδημον ἔχειν: the number of days for which provisions were to be taken would be specified in the case of each year's invasion; the longest lasted forty days.

2 ἕτοιμα: with the indefinite subject, as in 3. 4.

ξυνῆσαν τὰ δύο μέρη ἀπὸ πόλεως ἑκάστης: the neuter plural subject has the plural verb because the author is thinking of the men composing the forces. *τὰ δύο μέρη* means two-thirds of the number of men capable of bearing arms.

3 τοὺς μάλιστα ἐν τέλει: Thuc. uses also *τὰ τέλη* in the sense of 'the authorities' (iv. 15. 1).

παρῆνει τοιάδε: the MSS. have *παρεῖναι τοιάδε ἔλεξεν*, but *παρεῖναι* (with *ξυγκαλέσας*) is weak, and Thuc. except in one passage always puts the verb of saying before *τοιάδε* or the like. The formula *παρῆνει τοιάδε* occurs in two other places.

11 *Speech of Archidamus. 'This is the greatest expedition in which we have ever been engaged. There is need of caution as well as of courage. Athens will be roused by the invasion of her soil. Absolute discipline is necessary.'*

1 τῆσδε οὔπω μείζονα παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες: Plutarch, *Per.* 33, gives the number of the Peloponnesian force as 60,000: the Scholiast on Soph. *O. C.* 698 estimates it at 100,000.

2 **ἐνδεεστέρους**: instead of the positive *ἐνδεής*, which itself connotes 'inferiority', the comparative is often used by a natural transition; cp. Soph. *Phil.* 524 *ἀλλ' αἰσχρὰ μέντοι σοῦ γέ μ' ἐνδεέστερον | ξένῳ φανῆναι πρὸς τὸ καίριον πονεῖν.* The form *ὑποδεής* seems to be used only in the comparative.

τῇδε τῇ ὁρμῇ: either instrumental dative with *ἐπῆρται* and indirect object of *προσέχει*, or indirect object of both verbs taken closely together.

εὔνοιαν ἔχουσα . . . πρᾶξαι ἡμᾶς: the acc. and infin. is possible because *εὔνοιαν ἔχουσα = κατ' εὔνοιαν ἐπιθυμοῦσα.*

3 **πλήθει**: 'in force'. *πλῆθος* generally implies a large number, but not always; sometimes it is merely 'numbers', which may in a given case be small, e. g. iv. 10. 5 *τὰς τούτων ἀπορίας ἀντιπάλους ἡγοῦμαι τῷ ἡμετέρῳ πλήθει.*

ἀσφάλεια πολλὴ εἶναι: sc. *δοκεῖ.*

ἐλθεῖν . . . διὰ μάχης: 'give battle'; cp. § 6 *διὰ μάχης ἰέναι*, and Hdt. i. 169 *διὰ μάχης . . . ἀπίκοντο Ἀρπάγῳ.*

τὸ καθ' αὑτόν: 'as far as he himself is concerned'; cp. 60. 3, 87. 8. The alternative interpretation, 'his own contingent' (subject of *ἥξειν*) is less probable.

4 **ἐξ ὀλίγου**: 'at short notice'.

δεδιός: the word connotes the apprehension of evil which makes men act cautiously and prudently, as distinguished from cowardly fear; hence it is contrasted here with *καταφρονοῦντας* (cp. iii. 83. 3) and in the following sentence with *θαρσαλέους.*

ἄμεινον: sc. *ἢ οἱ πλέονες τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος.*

ἠμύναντο: gnomic aorist, as often with *πολλάκις.*

5 **εὐψυχότατοι ἂν εἶεν**: for the indefinite subject cp. iv. 130. 2 *τὰς ἄνω πύλας, ᾗ ἐπὶ Ποτειδαίας ἔρχονται* ('people go').

6 **ἀδύνατον ἀμύνεσθαι οὕτω**: i.e. so unable as people may think. *οὕτω* is used absolutely, without indication of the standard of comparison, especially in negative sentences.

εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν: taken by many editors as equivalent to *εἰ καὶ* ('although') *μὴ νῦν*; but 'if not even now' gives a quite satisfactory sense.

τἀκείνων: substituted for *τὰ ἑαυτῶν*, because the speaker is thinking of Attica from his own point of view.

7 **πᾶσι γὰρ . . . πάσχοντάς τι . . . ὀργὴ προσπίπτει**: in strict grammar

the accusative participle is impossible, as both *πᾶσι* and *προσπίπτει* require the dative. The construction seems to have arisen from a confusion of thought, as if the participle depended on *ἐν τῷ . . . ὁρᾶν* ('when they see that they are suffering') instead of having the words *ἐν τοῖς . . . ὁρᾶν* dependent upon it ('when they suffer before their eyes and in their immediate sight'). The explanation that *ὁρᾶν* (taken apart from *ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα*) depends upon *ὀργὴ προσπίπτει* is unsupported by any parallel.

θυμῷ: instrumental dative with *χρώμενοι*.

8 **τῶν πέλας**: 'their neighbours', not in the local sense, but equivalent to 'other people'.

τὴν αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν: sc. *δηουμένην*.

9 **δόξαν**: 'reputation' in the neutral sense, whether good or bad, as *ἐπ' ἀμφότερα* shows.

12 *A final attempt at negotiation is rejected by Athens, and the advance from the Isthmus begins. The Boeotians ravage the territory of Plataea.*

1 **εἴ τι ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐνδοῖεν**: *εἰ ἄρα* means 'if after all', 'if, as might possibly be the case'. The apodosis of the conditional sentence is not expressed, but can be readily understood, e.g. 'in order that they might come to terms, if . . .'. In such expressions *εἰ* may be rendered 'in the hope that' or 'in case'.

2 **τὸ κοινόν**: 'the government', including both the *βουλή* (which gave preliminary audience to ambassadors) and the *ἐκκλησία*.

ἦν γὰρ Περικλέους γνώμη πρότερον νενικηκυῖα: it is possible to say either *γνώμη νικᾷ* or *γνώμην νικῶ*, and sometimes the impersonal construction of *νικῶ* is used (54. 3). The periphrasis *ἦν νενικηκυῖα* is more emphatic than *ἐνενικήκει*.

ἀναχωρήσαντας . . . πρεσβεύεσθαι: the participle, as often, contains the main idea of the clause.

3 **διαλύσεσθαι**: 'to part from his escort'; but strictly the word is used of a number of people dispersing.

ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει: there is a reminiscence of this in Ar. *Pax* 435 *σπένδοντες εὐχώμεσθα τὴν νῦν ἡμέραν | Ἕλλησιν ἄρξαι πᾶσι πολλῶν κἀγαθῶν*.

4 **οὕτω δή**: summing up the preceding clause.

ἄρας τῷ στρατῷ: the intransitive use of *αἴρω* with the dative of

accompaniment is the regular one in Thuc.; but he also has *τὰς ναῦς ἄραντες*, i. 52. 2.

5 **μέρος μὲν τὸ σφέτερον**: i.e. their contingent, consisting of two-thirds of the men of military age (10. 2).

ἐς Πλάταιαν: i.e. to the territory of, *or* to the neighbourhood of, Plataea; cf. iv. 5. 1 *ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὤν*, i.e. in Attica.

13 *Pericles declares that, if the invaders spare his property, he will make it over to the state. He reiterates his former advice as to the conduct of the war, and enumerates the financial, moral, and military resources of Athens.*

1 **τῶν Πελοποννησίων**: the term includes all the members of the alliance, not merely those belonging to the Peloponnesus; this is clear from 10. 1. The practice of Thuc. is to use the formula *Πελοποννήσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι* at the beginning of his narrative of a particular campaign, and thereafter to use the abbreviated form.

ἐν ὁδῷ ὄντων: i.e. on the march from the Isthmus to the Attic frontier, whereas in 12. 1 the words refer to the march of the respective contingents from their homes to the Isthmus.

στρατηγὸς ὢν Ἀθηναίων δέκατος αὐτός: the formula indicates that Pericles had some precedence over the other nine *στρατηγοί*, and some authorities think that he held the office of *πρύτανις τῶν στρατηγῶν*; but the silence of Arist. *Ἀθ. Πολ.* is a strong argument against the existence of such an office. Similar language is used of Pericles in the Samian war, i. 116. 1 *Περικλέους δεκάτου αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος*. See the note on 65. 4 *στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο κτλ.* Probably all that is meant is that Pericles, in virtue of his ability and long service, was the natural leader of the board.

ὑποτοπήσας . . . μὴ . . . παραλίπῃ: *ὑποτοπῶ* is regularly constructed with an acc. and infin.; here *μή* and subj. is used on the analogy of the construction with verbs of fearing. Herodotus has the same use with *ὑποπτεύω*.

πολλάκις: 'perchance', a common use in Plato after *μή*, *εἰ*, or *ἐάν*. It is put shortly for 'as often happens', hence 'as well may be the case'.

μὴ δῃώσῃ: after the preceding *μή* we should expect *οὐ δῃώσῃ*. The use of *μή* has a parallel in Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 7, where, as in this

passage, there are several words between the two particles, so that the repetition is not disagreeable.

τὰ ἄγη ἐλαύνειν: the pollution incurred by the Alcmaeonidae, with which family Pericles was connected on his mother's side, in consequence of the murder of Cylon's partisans (i. 126, 127).

ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων: the *καί* is not strictly in place, as the preceding clause is negative.

μηδεμίαν . . . γίγνεσθαι: understand *κελεύει* from the context.

2 ἅπερ καὶ πρότερον: the reference is to i. 143.

διὰ χειρὸς ἔχειν: 'to keep under firm control'. The expression is used in the literal sense of 'grasping firmly' in 76. 4. Cp. 22. 1 *δι' ἡσυχίας . . . εἶχεν*, 37. 2 *δι' ὀργῆς . . . ἔχοντες*, 60. 4 *δι' αἰτίας ἔχετε*.

τὴν ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων εἶναι τῶν χρημάτων τῆς προσόδου: *ἀπό* is generally taken as governing *τῆς προσόδου τῶν χρημάτων τούτων* (*τούτων* meaning *τῶν ξυμμάχων*); but it is more probable that *ἀπό* belongs only to *τούτων*, and that *τῆς προσόδου τῶν χρημάτων* depends upon *τὴν ἰσχύν*. Cp. iii. 13. 6 *ἔστι δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἡ πρόσοδος*.

γνώμῃ: 'by policy'.

3 ἑξακοσίων ταλάντων: the original amount at the institution of the Confederacy of Delos was 460 talents (i. 96. 2). The figure here given is an average (*ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ*), because the assessment was revised every four years at the Panathenaea. The amount was raised in 425 B.C. to 1,200 talents (see Introduction, p. xiii, foot-note).

φόρου: genitive of material, or in apposition to *ταλάντων*.

τῆς ἄλλης προσόδου: the ordinary revenue of Athens, apart from the tribute, consisted of (1) customs duties, tax on sales, poll-tax on *μέτοικοι*, (2) rents of state property, especially the silver mines, (3) court-fees and fines. The total revenue of Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war is stated by Xen. *Anab.* vii. 1. 27 as 'not less than 1,000 talents'; hence the ordinary receipts were at least 400 talents. Ar. *Wasps* 660 gives the total as 'nearly 2,000 talents' in 422 B.C.; but by that time the tribute had been raised.

ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει: i.e. in the *ὀπισθόδομος*, the chamber at the back of the Parthenon, where the treasure of Athena and of the other gods was stored. The treasure of Athena consisted of (1) the *ἀπαρχή* of

the tribute (1 mina for every talent), (2) tithes of confiscated estates, of conquered territory, and of booty, (3) rents of property. It was managed by ten treasurers (*ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ*) appointed annually by lot; and at this period there was a separate board of treasurers for the other gods. Between 433–432 and 423–422 B.C. the Athenian state borrowed about 5,500 talents from these sacred treasures.

τὰ προπύλαια τῆς ἀκροπόλεως: completed in 432 B.C.

τἆλλα οἰκοδομήματα: such as the Parthenon, the Odeum, and the *τελεστήριον* at Eleusis.

Ποτείδαιαν: the siege, which lasted over two years, cost 2,000 talents (70. 2).

4 **καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη**: instead οι *καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς σκεύεσιν ὅσα* (*ἦν*). The nominative *σκῦλα Μηδικά* is to be similarly explained. For the omission of the verb cp. 9. 4 *νῆσοι ὅσαι*.

περί: 'connected with', i.e. 'used at'.

σκῦλα Μηδικά: e.g. the silver-footed throne of Xerxes and the golden scimitar of Mardonius.

[**ἦν**]: *ἦν* would only be possible if the sentence ran *οὐκ ἔλασσον ἦν πεντακοσίων ταλάντων* (or *ἢ πεντακόσια τάλαντα*), and even then the construction would very harshly introduce a statement by the author in the middle of Pericles' speech. *ἦν* probably came from a marginal note indicating the ellipsis in *ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη* or *εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον*. If we supply *ὑπάρχοντος* from *ὑπαρχόντων* above, the sentence runs quite smoothly.

τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν: as opposed to the temples on the Acropolis.

χρήσεσθαι: sc. *ἔφη*; similarly in line 27 with *εἶναι*.

αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ: the gold and ivory statue of Athena Parthenos by Pheidias, 39 feet high inclusive of the pedestal.

περιαιρετὸν εἶναι ἅπαν: sc. *τὸ χρυσίον*. Cp. Plut. *Per.* 31 *τὸ γὰρ χρυσίον οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀγάλματι προσειργάσατο καὶ περιέθηκεν ὁ Φειδίας γνώμῃ τοῦ Περικλέους, ὥστε πᾶν δυνατὸν εἶναι περιελοῦσιν ἀποδεῖξαι τὸν σταθμόν.*

6 **τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις**: the Attic *ἔφηβοι* in their twentieth year (and occasionally also in their nineteenth), together with a certain number of aliens, possibly the sons of *μέτοικοι*, garrisoned the forts and patrolled the frontiers of Attica, and were called *περίπολοι*; occasionally they served abroad, e.g. in the Megarid (i. 105. 4, iv. 67. 2).

τῶν παρ' ἔπαλξιν: ἔπαλξιν is collective (as in vii. 28. 2 and Ar. *Ach.* 72), 'the line of fortifications'. The garrison of Attica, Piraeus, and the Long Walls was composed of the older hoplites, i. e. the men between fifty and sixty; see note on 31. 1 πανδημεί.

ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων: comparing the next section and 31. 2, we get 13,000 as the number of the 'oldest and youngest men'—a number far too large in proportion to the 16,000 (13,000 citizens + 3,000 metics) on active service. Beloch would strike out καὶ μυρίων as due to confusion with καὶ μυρίους above.

7 τὸ πρῶτον ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν: the words refer to the five invasions during the first ten years of the war, as opposed to the occupation of Deceleia in its concluding stage.

ἀπό τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων: referring to τῶν παρ' ἔπαλξιν and τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις.

μετοίκων ὅσοι ὁπλῖται ἦσαν: only the wealthier μέτοικοι served as hoplites, the others as rowers in the fleet. There were at least 3,000 hoplites (31. 2).

τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως: the circuit of the city wall.

ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὃ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν: the difference of tenses is accounted for by the fact that ἔστιν ὅ is virtually a pronoun.

τοῦ μακροῦ: collective, including both the Long Walls as forming one fortification; cp. iv. 67. 3, 69. 2, where τὸ τεῖχος is used of the Long Walls at Megara.

τὸ ἔξωθεν: generally called τὸ βόρειον, the other being τὸ νότιον or τὸ διὰ μέσου.

[The traditional view, followed in the above notes, is that there were two parallel Long Walls to Piraeus, and a third to the east end of the Bay of Phalerum. E. A. Gardner, however, argues (*Ancient Athens*, pp. 57, 68 sqq.) that there was no third wall; he identifies the Phaleric wall—running to the *west* end of the bay—with the southern of the two parallel walls, and thinks that the plural τὰ μακρὰ τείχη may mean 'a double wall, with a face on either side'. As for the measurements given by Thuc., the circuit of Piraeus with Munychia is approximately correct; but the city wall is too long, while the Long Walls are too short. Gardner would explain the discrepancy by supposing that 15 stades of the Long Walls were reckoned as part of the city wall, which was 28 stades in circuit.]

8 διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους: this number includes the *ἱπποτοξόται*, for Ar. *Eq.* 225 gives the number of *ἱππῆς* as 1,000. It has been conjectured that the *ἱπποτοξόται* acted as mounted police in Attica, corresponding to the Scythian *τοξόται* in the city; but more probably they were a citizen corps, for the younger Alcibiades is known to have served in their ranks (Lysias xv. 6).

τοξότας: these were recruited from the fourth Solonian class, the Thetes.

14–17 *The inhabitants of Attica take refuge in Athens.* (*Independence of the Attic communes till they were combined by Theseus. Evidence for the view that the Acropolis represents the original πόλις.*) *Reluctance of the country people to quit their homes.*

14 1 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευήν: 'besides the furnishings'. *κατασκευή* here does not include the live stock, as the next sentence shows.

κατ' οἶκον . . . αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν: *οἰκία* is the actual building, *οἶκος* the building with the land belonging to it.

τὴν ξύλωσιν: object of *ἐσεκομίζοντο* as well as of *καθαιροῦντες*.

2 χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς . . . ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο: the adverb, not the adjective, is used because the sentence is virtually the passive form of *χαλεπῶς τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἐποιοῦντο*. *χαλεπῶς = οὐ ῥᾳδίως* (16. 1), 'with reluctance'. For *ἀνάστασις* in the sense of a voluntary removal, corresponding to the middle voice *ἀνίσταμαι*, cp. vii. 75. 1 *ἡ ἀνάστασις ἤδη τοῦ στρατεύματος τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀπὸ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐγίγνετο*.

15 1 ἑτέρων μᾶλλον = *μᾶλλον ἢ ἑτέροις*.

Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων . . . ἐς Θησέα: the legendary genealogy reckoned ten kings of Attica from Cecrops to Theseus, both inclusive.

κατὰ πόλεις: twelve in number, according to Strabo ix. 609.

ἐχούσας: Bloomfield's conjecture for *ἔχουσα*. With the MSS. reading *κατὰ πόλεις* must be joined with the participle as well as with *ᾠκεῖτο*.

Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα: Eumolpus, son of Poseidon, and eponymous hero of the Eumolpidae who had charge of the rites of Demeter, made war upon Erechtheus and the Athenians, aided by Thracian allies. Erechtheus, having sacrificed

his three daughters in obedience to an oracle, slew Eumolpus with his own hand and won a complete victory.

2 **μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ**: see note on 34. 6 *μὴ ἀξύνετος*. The article and neuter adjective in Thuc. is often equivalent to a noun. Shilleto compares Plat. *Theaet.* 185 E *καλὸς γὰρ εἶ, . . . πρὸς δὲ τῷ καλῷ εὖ ἐποίησάς με.*

διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν: *πόλιν*, the reading of G and M, is probably a copyist's slip. *χώρα* is not limited to 'the land', but includes 'the population' on it.

τὰς ἀρχάς: 'the boards of magistrates'; cp. i. 96. 2 *καὶ Ἑλληνοταμίαι τότε πρῶτον Ἀθηναίοις κατέστη ἀρχή.*

ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν . . . ξυνῴκισε πάντας: cp. iii. 2. 3 *ξυνοικίζουσι τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίᾳ.* The word here implies only centralization of government, not movement of population: Cicero is wrong in saying (*De Leg.* ii. 5) 'ut vestri Attici, postquam Theseus eos demigrare ex agris et in astu quod appellatur omnes se conferre iussit, et sui erant iidem et Attici'.

ἁπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτήν: for *ξυντελεῖν*, 'to contribute (taxes, *τέλη*)', cp. iv. 76. 3 *Χαιρώνειαν δέ, ἣ ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν . . . ξυντελεῖ.*

ξυνοίκια: on the sixteenth of Hecatombaeon.

τῇ θεῷ: Athena.

ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσιν: the active *ποιεῖν* is used, like *ἄγειν*, in the sense of 'celebrating' a festival; cp. iii. 104. 2 *ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ Δήλια*, vi. 58. 2 *τὰς πομπὰς ποιεῖν.* Accordingly the passive is *ποιεῖσθαι*, e.g. § 4, not *γίγνεσθαι.* The middle *ποιεῖσθαι* might have been expected, of the actual participators.

4 **τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερά**: *γάρ* introduces the details of the proof. Thuc., however, does not always use it after *τεκμήριον δέ*; see 50. 2.

†καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν: 'other deities' besides Athena; but this is not sufficiently indicated by the MSS. text, and Classen's view that some words (e.g. *καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς*) have fallen out before *καί* is generally accepted. It is very probable, as Stahl suggests, that there was some reference to the antiquity of the temples; he would insert *τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῆς τε Πολιάδος.*

πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως: these words are naturally taken as referring to *τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον*, and the sites which Thuc. proceeds to mention are generally supposed to be the Olympieum and Pythium near the Ilissus, the shrine of

Earth near the Olympieum, the Limnae or marshes to the south of the Theatre of Dionysus, and the spring Enneacrunus in the bed of the Ilissus; all these are to the south or south-east of the Acropolis. Dörpfeld, however, finds the sites referred to by Thuc. on the west and north-west of the Acropolis, explaining *πρὸς τοῦτο κτλ.* as 'towards the Acropolis and its surroundings'. See E. A. Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 141–51.

τὸ ⟨τοῦ⟩ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου: *τοῦ* is required by the relative clause. There was also a precinct of Dionysus adjoining the Theatre.

τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια: also called *τὰ Ἀνθεστήρια*, as distinguished from *τὰ μεγάλα Διονύσια* celebrated in the month Elaphebolion.

[τῇ δωδεκάτῃ]: if these words were genuine, we should have *μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος*, not *ἐν* with the dative.

οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες: i.e. the Ionians of Asia Minor and the islands; cp. vii. 57. 4 *Ἴωνες ὄντες οὗτοι πάντες καὶ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων.* They are mentioned to prove the antiquity of the observance, which must have originated before the Ionians dispersed from Attica.

5 **τῶν τυράννων**: Pisistratus and his sons adorned the spring, the former making it flow through nine pipes, hence the name *Ἐννεάκρουνος*. It was the only spring that gave an adequate supply of drinking water; wells, however, were numerous in all parts of the city. Callirrhoe or Enneacrunus is generally identified (in accordance with all the literary evidence apart from Pausanias) with a spring in the bed of the Ilissus, 'trickling from a ridge of rock that crosses the Ilissus just below the Olympieum'. Pausanias, however, mentions it along with buildings that lay around the Agora, and the natural inference is that he regarded it as being in that quarter of the city. Dörpfeld would identify it with a spring issuing intermittently from a niche in the back wall of a square chamber hewn out of the rock at the foot of the Pnyx; here he discovered a number of rock-hewn cisterns and tunnels, connected with a large conduit (partly built, but mainly rock-hewn) which was constructed, doubtless by Pisistratus, to convey an abundant water supply from the upper Ilissus. But this cannot be the work here intended by Thucydides; for the conduit must have entirely

superseded the spring. See Gardner, *Ancient Athens*, pp. 18 sqq., 534 sqq.; Frazer, *Pausanias*, ii. 112 sqq., v. 483 sqq.

ἐκεῖνοί τε: the MSS. reading *ἐκείνῃ τε* would be resumptive of *τῇ κρήνῃ* at the beginning of the sentence; but a word is wanted to contrast the practice in olden times with that in Thuc.'s own day. The imperfect *ἐχρῶντο* is not strong enough to do this, and *ἐκείνῃ* can hardly be interpreted (with Shilleto) as 'the fountain *as it then was*'. Bekker's *ἐκεῖνοι*, 'the men of old' (cp. *τὸ πάλαι*), gives the necessary contrast.

ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ: the spring in the bed of the Ilissus is about 650 yards from the Acropolis.

τὰ πλείστου ἄξια: accusative of the internal object, most common in the form of a neuter pronoun, e.g. 4. 6 *εἴτε τι ἄλλο χρήσωνται.*

πρό τε γαμικῶν: water from Callirrhoe was used by brides for the pre-nuptial bath.

ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν: 'for other religious rites'.

6 **καλεῖται . . . πόλις**: three examples of this occur in official documents quoted in v. 18. 10, 23. 5, 47. 11, e.g. *στήλας δὲ στῆσαι . . . Ἀθήνησιν ἐν πόλει.*

1 **τῇ τε οὖν . . . οἰκήσει μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι**: *μετεῖχον* seems to be either a corruption of some participle in the dative or the remains of an adscript. It is impossible to take the dative as if it were a genitive, and it is far-fetched to supply a genitive, e.g. *τῶν ἀγρῶν*. Omitting the word altogether, we have *τῇ οἰκήσει* as a causal dative, parallel to *διὰ τὸ ἔθος*. For *τε οὖν* Krüger conjectured *δ' οὖν*, which is appropriate as resuming the main narrative after the digression in 15. 3–6; with this reading *καί* before *ἐπειδή* means 'even'.

οἱ πλείους: in apposition to *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*: cp. 4. 2.

γενόμενοι: coupled with *οἰκήσαντες*, this must mean 'having been born'.

πανοικεσίᾳ: in the MSS. this word stands after *πολέμου*, but it does not go so well with *γενόμενοι* as with *τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο.*

μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά: during the invasion of Xerxes the Athenians sent their families and belongings to Salamis, Aegina, and Troezen (Hdt. viii. 41).

2 **καταλείποντες**: MSS. authority is in favour of the aorist, but the present is rendered almost certain by *μέλλοντες* and *ἀπολείπων.*

1 **οἰκήσεις**: in unoccupied houses.

πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως: the whole of the Acropolis was considered sacred and kept free from human habitation.

τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου: the temple of Demeter and Persephone.

τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον: a level space on the north-west foot of the Acropolis, commanded by the *Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος* of the citadel. *Πελαργικόν* is the official form found in decrees, and preserved here and in line 13 by C alone. The prehistoric walls of the Acropolis were ascribed to the Pelasgians (Hdt. vi. 137).

ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν: *ὅ* is the object of *μὴ οἰκεῖν*, which depends both on *ἐπάρατον ἦν* and on *διεκώλυε*. The infinitive has the negative, because *ἐπάρατον* implies forbidding.

2 **ξυμβῆναι**: of the fulfilment of a prophecy; cp. v. 26. 3 *καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ χρησμῶν τι ἰσχυρισαμένοις μόνον δὴ τοῦτο ἐχυρῶς ξυμβάν.*

αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι: sc. *δοκοῦσι.*

προῇδει: would Thuc. ascribe foreknowledge to an oracle? His critical tone in 54. 2. 3 and v. 26. 3 renders it improbable. Hence Cobet conjectured *προῇδε*, which might be constructed with a participle on the analogy of *ἀγγέλλω* and the like.

μὴ . . . κατοικισθησόμενον: *μή* with the participle, instead of the regular *οὐ*, occurs after *οἶδα* in i. 76. 1. Similarly Thuc. sometimes has *μή* with the infin. after *λέγω*, *νομίζω*, and the like.

3 **κατεσκευάσαντο**: 'set up house' with the *κατασκευή* and *ξύλωσις* (14. 1) which they had brought with them.

ἐν τοῖς πύργοις τῶν τειχῶν: cp. Ar. *Eq.* 792 *καὶ πῶς σὺ φιλεῖς, ὃς τοῦτον ὁρῶν οἰκοῦντ' ἐν ταῖς φιδάκναισι | καὶ γυπαρίοις καὶ πυργιδίοις ἔτος ὄγδοον οὐκ ἐλεαίρεις;*

ἡ πόλις: here in the sense in which *τὸ ἄστυ* is commonly used, the city proper as opposed to Piraeus.

5 **ἐν τούτῳ παρασκευῆς**: for the partitive genitive depending on a neuter pronoun cp. i. 49. 7 *ξυνέπεσεν ἐς τοῦτο ἀνάγκης.*

18–20 *The Peloponnesians waste time before Oenoe, and Archidamus is thought not to be in earnest. At last they enter Attica, and encamp at Acharnae. Motives of Archidamus in choosing this position.*

18 1 **τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον**: the genitive goes with *πρῶτον*; cp. iv. 128. 3 *ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἄρνισαν πρῶτον τῆς Περδίκκου ἀρχῆς.* For *ἐς* see note on 12. 5. Oenoe was in the north-west of Attica, on the

road to Thebes; although an Attic deme, it had an uncertain status as a border district, so that the invasion of Attica does not begin till the Peloponnesians have advanced from Oenoe (19. 1).

ἧπερ ἔμελλον ἐσβαλεῖν: this explanation of their presence at Oenoe is necessary, because the direct route from the Isthmus to Attica was by way of Megara and Eleusis.

2 αὐτῷ φρουρίῳ: the pronoun is assimilated in gender to the predicative noun.

καταλάβοι: used without an object in the sense of 'befall'; cp. 54. 3.

ἄλλως: probably 'in other ways' (cp. *πᾶσαν ἰδέαν*, 19. 1), rather than 'to no purpose'.

3 αἰτίαν . . . ἔλαβεν: Thuc. also uses *αἰτίαν ἔχειν* and *αἰτίαν φέρεσθαι* (60. 7) to supply the passive of *αἰτιᾶσθαι*.

δοκῶν: imperfect participle, not coincident in time with *ἔλαβεν*.

ἐν τῇ ξυναγωγῇ τοῦ πολέμου: 'in stirring up the war'; cp. the Homeric *συνάγειν Ἄρηα, ἔριδα Ἄρηος*, and Isocrates iv. 84 *οἶμαι καὶ τὸν πόλεμον θεῶν τινα συναγαγεῖν*. Herbst's explanation, 'in the Assembly which voted for the war' (i. 67–87), extorts an impossible sense from the genitive.

οὐ παραινῶν προθύμως πολεμεῖν: cp. the speech of Archidamus, i. 80–5.

κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν: 'on the march as well', placed before the article for emphasis; cp. 7. 2 *ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς . . . ἑλομένοις*.

4 ἐδόκουν: 'believed'.

5 ἐν τῇ καθέδρᾳ: 'while they were sitting still instead of advancing'; cp. v. 7. 2 *τῶν γὰρ στρατιωτῶν ἰχθομένων μὲν τῇ ἕδρᾳ*, and 20. 3 *καθήμενος*.

περιιδεῖν αὐτὴν τμηθεῖσαν: in this construction the aorist participle does not refer to a prior action, but differs from the present only in not containing the notion of duration. No distinction can be drawn between the participle and the infinitive with *περιορᾶν*; cp. 20. 2.

ἀνεῖχεν: 'held back', 'delayed', an uncommon intransitive use of the word, occurring in two other passages of Thuc.

9 1 πᾶσαν ἰδέαν πειράσαντες: the accusative is adverbial, like *πάντα τρόπον*. With *πειράσαντες* supply the genitive *αὐτῆς*, or *τοῦ χωρίου*.

[τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων]: these words are unnecessary, and go very awkwardly with *τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ*. Doubtless they are a gloss. Contrast 10. 1 *μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς*.

ἡμέρᾳ ὀγδοηκοστῇ μάλιστα: eighty days from March 9 (see note on 4. 2 *τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός*) would bring us to May 28.

θέρους καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος: *θέρους* is genitive of time, and *καί* adds a more precise indication with the genitive absolute. All MSS. but C have *τοῦ θέρους*, which would go with *ἀκμάζοντος*. The time meant is that when the corn is ripe for cutting (cp. iv. 2. 1 *πρὶν τὸν σῖτον ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι*; iv. 6. 1 *τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος*), which in Attica occurs on an average in the month of May.

ἡγεῖτο δὲ Ἀρχίδαμος ὁ Ζευξιδάμου, Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς: the leadership of Archidamus has been already mentioned in 10. 3, and his name has occurred twice in ch. 18; but the fact is reiterated here at the moment of the actual invasion.

2 Ἐλευσῖνα: i. e. the plain of Eleusis, which lay between Megara and the Thriasian plain.

τοὺς Ῥείτους καλουμένους: these 'Brooks' are salt-springs, the water of which is now dammed by a stone dyke so as to form a large pond between the foot-slopes of Mt. Aegaleos and the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis; in antiquity the water probably flowed directly into the sea (J. G. Frazer on Paus. i. 38. 1).

διὰ Κρωπιᾶς: a deme in the valley between Mt. Aegaleos and Mt. Parnes.

χωρίον: the reading of C is appropriate enough, for the word can apply to the territory of the deme as well as to the village. (In 20. 4, where the territory alone is meant, we have *χῶρος*.) *αὐτό* in the next line would easily be altered to *αὐτόν*, to suit *χῶρον*.

ἐμμείναντες: 'settling down'; cp. iv. 109. 5 *τὴν χώραν ἐμμείνας τῷ στρατῷ ἐδῄου*.

20 1 ἐς τὸ πεδίον: Acharnae lay in the northern part of the plain of Athens.

ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἐσβολῇ: the use of the dative of time without *ἐν* is usually confined to nouns which themselves denote time; but cp. iii. 54. 4 *μάχῃ τῇ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ γῇ γενομένῃ παρεγενόμεθα ὑμῖν*; iv. 26. 7 *ὅσοι δὲ γαλήνῃ κινδυνεύσειαν*.

3 ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα . . . οὐκ ἀπήντησαν: *ἐς* with acc. because previous motion is implied; but Thuc. also uses *ἐπί* with dat. (iv. 78. 3).

πεῖραν ἐποιεῖτο . . . εἰ ἐπεξίασιν: see note on 12. 1.

4 τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὁπλῖται ἐγένοντο: those who reject *καὶ μυρίων* in 13. 6 are obliged to make some alteration here. Müller-Strübing suggested *τριακόσιοι* (which is far too small a number to justify the expression *μέγα μέρος*), Polle with greater plausibility would substitute *πολῖται* for *ὁπλῖται*; *πεντακόσιοι* (i.e. ⌈H corrupted to ⌈,) has also been suggested. The view (based on Hdt. v. 69) that originally there were 100 demes is shown by Arist. *Ἀθ. Πολ.* 21. 4 to be untenable; in later times there were 174; the number in Thuc.'s time is not known. If Acharnae furnished 3,000 out of a total of 26,000 citizen hoplites, its population must have far exceeded the average of a deme.

ὁρμήσειν: transitive; a rare use.

τεμεῖν καὶ . . . χωρήσεσθαι: sc. *ἐνόμιζε*, from *ἐδόκουν* above.

στάσιν: only here in Thuc. in the sense of 'division', 'discord'.

, 22 *The feeling at Athens turns against Pericles, who maintains his defensive policy. Cavalry skirmish at Phrygia; the Athenians are aided by Thessalians.*

1 καί τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον: this is the beginning of the principal sentence, *καί* emphasizing *τινα*; cp. 93. 4 *ὡς δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐχώρουν εὐθύς*.

μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα . . ., ὅτε . . . ἀνεχώρησε: the anticipatory accusative is not so common when the dependent clause, as here, is temporal. *μέμνημαι ὅτε*, like *memini cum*. This invasion occurred in 445 B.C. (i. 114. 2).

ἡ φυγὴ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο ἐκ Σπάρτης: his exile lasted from 445 to 426, when he was restored.

δόξαντι χρήμασι πεισθῆναι [τὴν ἀναχώρησιν]: elsewhere the acc. of the thing with *πείθω* is always a neuter pronoun. For the charge of bribery cp. v. 16. 3 *διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ποτὲ μετὰ δώρων δοκήσεως ἀναχώρησιν*.

2 τὰ Μηδικά: acc. of duration of time; cp. i. 2. 1 *μεταναστάσεις τε οὖσαι τὰ πρότερα*.

3 κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι: cp. iii. 27. 3 *κατὰ ξυλλόγους τε γιγνόμενοι*; viii. 83. 3 *ξυνιστάμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλους*; Xen. *Anab.* v. 7. 2 *ξύλλογοι ἐγίγνοντο καὶ κύκλοι ξυνίσταντο*.

ὧν ἀκροᾶσθαι ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρμητο: *ὡς ἕκαστος* is virtually equivalent to *ἕκαστος*, as it often is; the MSS. readings *ὧν ἠκροᾶτο ὡς ἕκαστος* or *ὧν ἀκροᾶσθαι ἕκαστος* doubtless arose from the notion that *ὡς* must introduce a dependent clause. The reading *ὥργητο* or *ὥργητο* has no justification from usage elsewhere: Thuc. twice has the *active* of *ὀργάν*.

παντί τε τρόπῳ: Thuc. regularly uses *τε* (not *δέ*) with expressions which sum up what has preceded; so with *ἁπλῶς*, *ξυνελών*, *τὸ ξύμπαν*.

22 1 ἐκκλησίαν τε οὐκ ἐποίει αὐτῶν οὐδὲ ξύλλογον οὐδένα: *ξύλλογος* is the wider term, applied to any assembly, whether a formal meeting or not. In the former sense it is used of the Athenian *ἐκκλησία* (59. 3), of the Spartan *ἄπελλα* (i. 67. 3), and of the Syracusan *ἐκκλησία* (vi. 41. 4); in the latter sense, of the meetings summoned by Brasidas at Torone and Scione (iv. 114. 3, 120. 3). Besides the four regular meetings of the Athenian *ἐκκλησία* in each prytany, the Generals could summon others in emergencies; and from this passage it appears that, at least during an invasion, they might suspend the meetings altogether. Instead of *τε οὐκ*, answered by *τε* in line 12, we should ordinarily have *οὔτε . . . τε*.

τοῦ μὴ . . . ἐξαμαρτεῖν: *τοῦ* with the infinitive as an expression of purpose is not found in any author before Thuc., and is comparatively rare in other writers. Other instances in this Book are ch. 32; 75. 1 and 5; 93. 4.

2 προδρόμους: light-armed skirmishers in advance of the hoplites; cp. iii. 1. 2 *τὸν πλεῖστον ὅμιλον τῶν ψιλῶν εἶργον τὸ μὴ προεξιόντας τῶν ὅπλων τὰ ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν*.

ἐν Φρυγίοις: conjectured by Bursian to have been at the north-east foot of Mt. Aegaleos; but the commentary in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* vi (see Introduction, p. xxiii) calls it *τόπος δήμου Ἀθμονέων* (a deme four or five miles east of Acharnae).

τέλει: 'division' of cavalry, as in iv. 96. 5. In i. 48. 3 the word is used of the divisions of a fleet.

ἀνείλοντο . . . ἀσπόνδους: this implied that the Athenians did not acknowledge defeat; see note on 6. 1.

3 κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικόν: in 461 B.C. after the affair of Ithome Athens renounced the alliance with Sparta, and entered into an alliance with Argos and Thessaly (i. 102. 4). Thessalian cavalry

deserted from the Athenians to the Spartans at the battle of Tanagra in 457 B.C. (i. 107. 7).

[Παράσιοι]: no Thessalian people of this name is mentioned elsewhere, and the word appears to be only a variant of Πειράσιοι or Πυράσιοι which follows. The omission is confirmed by the commentary in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vi, p. 145, which also supports the spelling of the older MSS. Πειράσιοι, as against Πυράσιοι, the form found in Strabo and Stephen of Byzantium.

ἀπὸ τῆς στάσεως ἑκάτερος: 'each from his faction', i.e. the oligarchic and democratic factions respectively. For the use of the article cp. 93. 2 *λαβόντα τῶν ναυτῶν ἕκαστον τὴν κώπην* κτλ. With Poppo's conjecture *ἑκατέρας* we should expect *εἷς*; and if *τῆς στάσεως* meant 'the Opposition' (as Curtius held) we should expect *ἀμφότεροι* instead of *ἑκάτερος*.

23 *Progress and termination of the invasion. An Athenian fleet is sent to the coast of Peloponnesus.*

1 μεταξὺ Πάρνηθος καὶ Βριλησσοῦ ὄρους: the range of Parnes towards the Boeotian frontier, and the range of Brilessus (or Pentelicus) towards the east coast of Attica, were separated by the upper valley of the Cephisus. The demes of Cephisia, Oeon, and Aphidnae are among those referred to.

2 τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς: see 17. 4.

παρεσκευάζοντο: imperfect of a previous action regarded as in progress.

χιλίους ὁπλίτας: this gives ten *ἐπιβάται* to each trireme—the regular number during the Peloponnesian War.

3 ὅσου εἶχον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια: *ὅσου* is genitive of quality with *τὰ ἐπιτήδεια*. The invasion lasted less than forty days (57. 2) and more than fifteen days (iv. 6. 2).

τὴν Γραϊκὴν καλουμένην: so the passage is quoted by Stephen of Byzantium: all MSS. have Πειραϊκήν, while in iii. 91. 3 they have *ἐς Ὠρωπὸν τῆς πέραν γῆς*, which Stahl corrects to Γραϊκῆς. The district took its name from the town of Γραῖα (Hom. *Il.* ii. 498). Πειραϊκήν could not mean 'the land opposite Euboea'.

Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι: the Oropians were subject-allies, not citizens, of Athens. The town was recovered by the Boeotians in 411 B.C. (viii. 60. 1).

24 *The Athenians institute a reserve fund and a reserve fleet in case of an attack by sea.*

1 διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου: i.e. except during an invasion, when the arrangements were different (13. 7).

ἀναλοῦν: Thuc. uses both *ἀναλοῦν* and *ἀναλίσκειν*.

ἤν δέ τις εἴπῃ ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ: *εἰπεῖν* is said of the proposer of a resolution, *ἐπιψηφίζειν* of the *ἐπιστάτης τῶν πρυτάνεων* who put it to the vote in the *ἐκκλησία*.

κινεῖν: of meddling with sacred things; cp. i. 143. 1 *κινήσαντες τῶν Ὀλυμπίασιν ἢ Δελφοῖς χρημάτων*; Hdt. vi. 134 (of Miltiades at Paros) *κινήσοντά τι τῶν ἀκινήτων*.

νηίτῃ στρατῷ: this form, instead of *ναυτικῷ*, occurs in iv. 85. 7.

θάνατον ζημίαν ἐπέθεντο: the middle voice, because the members of the *ἐκκλησία* are passing a law to be observed by themselves; contrast viii. 67. 2 *οἱ ξυγγραφῆς . . . μεγάλας ζημίας ἐπέθεσαν*. The decree in question was rescinded after the revolt of Chios (viii. 15. 1).

2 ὧν μὴ χρῆσθαι μηδεμιᾷ: the infinitive depends on *ἔδοξεν* understood.

25 *An Athenian fleet makes descents on the coasts of Laconia and Elis. Brasidas distinguishes himself at Methone.*

1 τῶν ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχων: the western allies, Acarnanians, Zacynthians, and the Messenians of Naupactus (§ 4).

ἐς Μεθώνην τῆς Λακωνικῆς: the Laconian territory included Messenia as well as Laconia proper.

ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐνόντων: the apparent contradiction between these words and *τοῖς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ* (§ 2) may be removed by taking *τῷ τείχει* as 'the fort' and *τῷ χωρίῳ* as 'the town'.

2 πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος τετραμμένον: cp. 40. 2 *πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις*.

πρῶτος τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον: sc. *ἐπαινεθέντων*. There is no occasion to read *πρώτου*, with Herwerden; cp. 94. 1 *καὶ ἔκπληξις ἐγένετο οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐλάσσων*.

ἐπῃνέθη: this doubtless refers to an official vote of thanks.

3 σχόντες τῆς Ἠλείας ἐς Φειάν: *σχεῖν* with *ἐς* and acc. means 'to *stop* a ship and bring it *into* the anchorage', which in this case was the open bay on the south side of the promontory of Ἰχθῦς, the harbour of Pheia being on the north side.

ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας: a rare use, found also in 86. 5.

ἐκ τῆς κοίλης Ἤλιδος: the Vale of Elis, i. e. the northern lowlands of Elis proper, as opposed to *ἡ ὀρεινή* or *ἡ περιοικίς*, which comprised Pisatis and Triphylia. Pheia, the port of Olympia, was in Pisatis (hence *αὐτόθεν*).

26 *Another Athenian squadron attacks Locris.*

1 **περὶ τὴν Λοκρίδα**: see note on 9. 2.

καὶ Εὐβοίας ἅμα φυλακήν: predicative acc. with *ἐξέπεμψαν*.

2 **αὐτῶν**: i. e. the inhabitants of Thronium.

27 *The Athenians expel the Aeginetans, most of whom find refuge in Thyreatis.*

1 **Αἰγινήτας**: after defeating the Aeginetan fleet the Athenians besieged the town for two years. It surrendered in 464 B.C., and became tributary to Athens (i. 108. 4).

οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι: cp. i. 67. 2 *Αἰγινῆταί τε . . . οὐχ ἥκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνῆγον τὸν πόλεμον, λέγοντες οὐκ εἶναι αὐτόνομοι κατὰ τὰς σπονδάς.*

ἐποίκους: settlers sent to a place already occupied by others; these were *κληροῦχοι*, retaining their Athenian citizenship. Aristophanes is said to have been one of them. They were in possession till 404 B.C., when Lysander restored the exiles (Xen. *Hell.* ii. 2. 9).

2 **κατά τε τὸ Ἀθηναίων διάφορον**: cp. iv. 56. 2 *ὅτι Ἀθηναίων ὑπακούοντες ὅμως πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων* (sc. *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων*) *γνώμην αἰεὶ ἔστασαν.*

ὑπὸ τὸν σεισμὸν καὶ τῶν Εἱλώτων τὴν ἐπανάστασιν: *ὑπό* is 'at the time of'. The earthquake and the revolt took place in 464 B.C. (i. 101. 2); see note on 9. 4.

ἡ δὲ Θυρεᾶτις γῆ: the border district of Cynuria, which included Thyreatis, was conquered by the Spartans about 550 B.C., but the Argives continued to claim it; cp. v. 41. 2 *περὶ τῆς Κυνουρίας γῆς, ἧς αἰεὶ πέρι διαφέρονται μεθορίας οὔσης.*

28 *A solar eclipse.*

νουμηνίᾳ κατὰ σελήνην: the first day of a calendar month, though called *νουμηνία*, did not always coincide with the true or astronomical new moon (see note on 4. 2 *τελευτῶντος τοῦ μηνός*); hence the

addition here of the words *κατὰ σελήνην*. The date was August 3.

ἀστέρων τινῶν ἐκφανέντων: Venus and Mars.

29 *Athens negotiates with Sitalces, the Thracian king.* (*Digression on Tereus the husband of Procne.*) *Perdiccas of Macedonia is also brought over to the Athenian side.*

1 **Πύθεω**: Ionic genitive of *Πύθης*. Other Ionic genitives in Thuc. are *Τήρεω* in this section, *Ἀφύτιος* (i. 64. 2), *Γοάξιος* (iv. 107. 3), *Κνίδιος* (v. 51. 2).

2 **Ὀδρύσαις**: a tribe in the interior of Thrace.

ἐπὶ πλέον τῆς ἄλλης Θρᾴκης: 'over a wider district than the rest of Thrace', i. e. than the independent part of the country, as the next clause shows. For the extent of the Odrysian kingdom see ch. 97.

3 **ἐν Δαυλίᾳ**: the territory of Daulis, which was strongly situated on a hill at the eastern foot of Parnassus.

[ὁ Τηρεύς]: perhaps an adscript, as the Scholiast seems not to have had the words in his text; but cp. vi. 57. 4 *ὁ μὲν . . . ὁ Ἀριστογείτων*; vii. 86. 3 *τὸν μὲν . . . Δημοσθένη*.

αἱ γυναῖκες: Procne and Philomela, who slew Itys the son of Tereus and Procne.

ἐν ἀηδόνος μνήμῃ: 'when they mention the nightingale' (=*μνήμην ἀηδόνος ποιουμένοις*), into which Philomela (or, according to another version, Procne) was transformed.

Δαυλιὰς ἡ ὄρνις ἐπωνόμασται: no extant Greek poet exemplifies this; but cp. Catullus lxv. 14; Ovid, *Her.* xv. 154.

διὰ τοσούτου: 'at so short a distance', *τοσοῦτος* (as often) meaning 'only so great', and *διά* denoting an interval in space; cp. *διὰ . . . ὁδοῦ* in the next line.

οὐδὲ . . . [τε]: *τε* appears to have been inserted after *οὐδέ* had been corrupted to *οὔτε*.

ἐν κράτει: these words go closely with *βασιλεύς*.

4 **ξυνεξελεῖν**: 'to help in subduing' is the sense required by the accusatives *τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία καὶ Περδίκκαν*, and supported by the frequent use of *ἐξαιρεῖν* with acc. of place or of person. It is at least doubtful whether the variant *ξυνελεῖν* could bear this meaning.

5 **Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον**: sc. *ἐποίησε*, i. e. he got Sadocus made an Athenian citizen by vote of the *ἐκκλησία*. The middle voice would of course be used of the action of the Athenians themselves, as in § 4 *τὸν Σιτάλκην οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξύμμαχον ἐποιοῦντο*.

πέμπειν: the present or aorist infinitive is the normal use after verbs of wishing, intending, begging, persuading, &c., which naturally have a future action as their object; but, just as after *μέλλω* (which is the only regular exception), the future infinitive is occasionally found. In the MSS. of Thuc. the fut. is sometimes (as here) a variant for the present; in some cases where it occurs in all MSS. it can easily be accounted for as a corruption of the present or aorist, but in others (e. g. iv. 115. 2 *ἐνήσειν διενοοῦντο*) no change is probable.

πελταστῶν: 'targeteers', so called from the *πέλτη* or light leather shield which they carried. They formed a class of troops intermediate between *ὁπλῖται* and *ψιλοί*. Like the latter, they had no metal armour, but wore tunics of quilted linen, and carried javelins; like the former, they had swords, and thus could fight hand-to-hand as well as harass the enemy from a distance. The *πέλτη* was Thracian; and all the peltasts mentioned in Thuc. (with one exception, iv. 93. 3, where they are Boeotians) are either Thracians or inhabitants of the Greek colonies in Thrace or Chalcidice.

6 **Θέρμην**: this town had been captured by the Athenians in the preceding year (i. 61. 2).

μετὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Φορμίωνος: Phormio had been sent out in command of 1,600 hoplites (i. 64. 2).

30 *The Athenians capture Sollium and Astacus, and gain Cephallenia.*

1 **Σόλλιον . . . Ἀστακόν**: both of these towns were Corinthian settlements in Acarnania; the operations in the north-west were directed against the Corinthians.

κατὰ κράτος: tacitly opposed to *προδοσίᾳ*.

2 **ἄνευ μάχης**: because the island was already friendly to Athens (7. 3), though as yet not an ally.

Παλῆς . . . Προννα῀οι: these nominatives are added loosely in explanation of *τετράπολις*; cp. 9. 4 *ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε, Καρία κτλ.*

31 1 *Athenian invasion of the Megarid.*

περὶ δὲ τὸ φθινόπωρον τοῦ θέρους τούτου: Thuc. includes autumn in *θέρος*; see note on 1. 1. He uses also the form *μετόπωρον*.

πανδημεί: all Athenian citizens of the first three Solonian classes were liable to military service as hoplites from eighteen to sixty years of age, but as a rule only those between twenty and fifty were required to serve abroad. When all the latter were called out, the levy was said to be made *πανδημεί* or *παυστρατιᾷ*; when a smaller force was sufficient, it was said to be taken *ἐκ καταλόγου*, 'from the muster-roll'.

ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν: although these words are attributive, it is unnecessary to prefix (with Krüger) the article *οἱ*, because part of the attribute has already appeared between *οἱ* and Ἀθηναῖοι: cp. 100. 2 *οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὀκτώ*.

ἐν Μεγάροις = *ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι*: see note on 12. 5 *ἐς Πλάταιαν*.

2 οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ τρισχίλιοι: this was the number originally sent to Potidaea (i. 61. 4); so that the reinforcement of 1,600 men under Phormio (29. 6) must have returned to Athens by this time.

ὁ ἄλλος ὅμιλος ψιλῶν: Athens at this time had no *organized* force of light troops; iv. 94. 1 *ψιλοὶ δὲ ἐκ παρασκευῆς μὲν ὡπλισμένοι οὔτε τότε παρῆσαν οὔτε ἐγένοντο τῇ πόλει*.

3 ἄλλαι . . . κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἐσβολαί: later (iv. 66. 1) we hear of *two* invasions of the Megarid in each year.

Νίσαια: the port of Megara on the Saronic Gulf, captured in 424 B.C. (iv. 66–9).

32 *The Athenians fortify Atalante.*

φρούριον: predicative with *ἐτειχίσθη*; cp. 26. 1 *φυλακήν*.

ἐπὶ Λοκροῖς: *ἐπί* in the sense of *ἐπικειμένη*.

τοῦ μὴ . . . κακουργεῖν: see note on 22. 1.

33 *The Corinthians restore the despot of Astacus, but are repulsed in Cephallenia.*

1 κατελθεῖν: regularly used as the virtual passive of *καταγαγεῖν*.

Χρύσιδος: Χρῦσις is the masculine form, Χρυσίς (2. 1) the feminine.

2 πειραθέντες: see note on 5. 5 *πειράσαντες*.

3 βιαιότερον: 'under unusual pressure' (Shilleto); cp. iv. 31. 2 *ἀναχώρησις βιαιοτέρα*.

34 *Procedure at the funeral of the Athenians who fell in the war.*

1 **ταφὰς ἐποιήσαντο**: the middle voice is used of the whole community taking part in the obsequies; the active, on the other hand, is used of the authorities who direct the proceedings—Plato, *Menex.* 234 B of the *βουλή*, Plut. *Per.* 28 of Pericles. Cp. *ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖν, ποιεῖσθαι.*

πρώτων: the adjective is the form required by the sense. The reference is to those who had fallen at Phrygia (22. 2), in the naval expedition, and at the siege of Potidaea.

2 **προτίθενται**: the regular word for laying out the remains of the dead.

τῶν ἀπογενομένων = τῶν ἀποθανόντων: cp. 51. 5.

πρότριτα: for three days before the *ἐκφορά.*

ἐπιφέρει: of offerings to the dead, such as flowers and spices; cp. iii. 58. 4 *ὅσα τε ἡ γῆ ἡμῶν ἀνεδίδου ὡραῖα, πάντων ἀπαρχὰς ἐπιφέροντες.*

3 **τῶν ἀφανῶν**: 'the missing'; cp. viii. 38. 1 *ἀποπλέων ἐν κέλητι ἀφανίζεται* ('vanishes', i.e. 'is lost at sea').

4 **καὶ ἀστῶν καὶ ξένων**: *ἀστοί* are all the free residents in Athens, including both *πολῖται* and *μέτοικοι* (aliens who had definitely settled in Athens), except the *ξένοι* (aliens temporarily residing there).

ἐπὶ τὸν τάφον: 'at the tomb', not 'at the burial', for the female relatives had no part in the procession.

5 **τοῦ καλλίστου προαστείου**: the Outer Cerameicus.

ἐν αὐτῷ: for the demonstrative after the relative cp. 4. 5.

τοὺς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων: sc. *θαπτομένους*, as in 35. 1.

πλήν γε τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι: the Athenians and other Greeks who fell at Plataea were also buried on the field of battle (Hdt. ix. 85); but in that case the arrangement was made not by the Athenians only, but by all the states concerned.

τὸν τάφον ἐποίησαν: see on § 1. Or the meaning may be 'constructed the tomb'.

ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως: Plato, *Menex.* 234 B *ἡ βουλὴ μέλλει αἱρεῖσθαι ὅστις ἐρεῖ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν.*

6 **μὴ ἀξύνετος**: litotes. *ξύνεσις* is native intelligence, as opposed to acquired knowledge; cp. i. 138. 3 (of Themistocles) *οἰκείᾳ γὰρ ξυνέσει καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθών.*

7 ὁπότε ξυμβαίη αὐτοῖς: 'whenever they had occasion', sc. *θάπτειν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου.*

8 δ' οὖν; see note on 16. 1 *τῇ τε οὖν κτλ.*

καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε: 'the proper moment arrived (lit. came upon him)'; see note on 18. 2 *καταλάβοι.* This use of the simple verb has a parallel in Dio Cass. xliv. 19.

35–46 *The Funeral Speech of Pericles.*

35 '*I should prefer to dispense with a speech, for it is difficult not to cause either disappointment or jealousy; but I must comply with the custom.*'

1 τὸν προσθέντα τῷ νόμῳ τὸν λόγον τόνδε: the custom (*νόμος*) of honouring the fallen by a public funeral was generally ascribed to Solon, to whom the Scholiast and Plut. *Popl.* 9 also assign the institution of the funeral speech. Dion. Hal. v. 17 and Diodorus xi. 33, on the other hand, say that the speech was instituted during the Persian Wars.

ὡς καλόν: sc. *ὄν*; cp. Plato, *Gorg.* 495 C *ἄλλο τι οὖν, ὡς ἕτερον τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῆς ἐπιστήμης, δύο ταῦτα ἔλεγες;*

ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι: probably *ἄν* belongs to the infinitive, 'I thought (or, in our idiom, 'I should have thought') that it would be sufficient'; cp. *οὐκ ἂν ᾤμην . . . εἶναι* and Lat. *putabam.* Pericles states the opinion as one which, in deference to the weight of authority (§ 3 *ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς πάλαι κτλ.*), he has ceased to entertain. On the other hand, if *ἄν* is joined with *ἐδόκει*, we must understand some such protasis as 'if the decision had rested with me'.

ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμάς: *ἔργῳ* refers to the whole ceremony apart from the speech ('in deeds, not words').

καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ . . . πιστευθῆναι: (1) joining *πολλῶν ἀρετάς* with *πιστευθῆναι*, and regarding this acc. and infin. as the subject of *κινδυνεύεσθαι*, we may render, 'and that the belief in many men's brave deeds should not be hazarded on one man, who may speak well or not so well'. This interpretation presupposes a harsh arrangement of the words, which may, however, be justified by the desire to bring together the contrasted terms *ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρί* and *πολλῶν*: further, the occurrence of another infinitive between *ἀρετάς* and *πιστευθῆναι* is against this view. (2) *πιστευθῆναι* may be regarded as epexegetic of *κινδυνεύεσθαι*, 'and that many men's brave deeds

should not be imperilled—as far as belief in them is concerned—on one man, &c.'. This view of the construction leads to the same sense as the other, and is favoured by the position of *πιστευθῆναι*: cp. also Lucian, *Pisc.* 23 *ἐν σοὶ τὰ πάντα ἡμῶν νῦν κινδυνεύεται, ἢ σεμνότατα δόξαι ἢ τοιαῦτα πιστευθῆναι οἷα οὗτος ἀπέφηνε.*

εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι: *τε καί* instead of *ἤ . . . ἤ*, offering a choice; cp. 8. 4 *καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ.*

2 **τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν**: 'to speak appropriately', observing the due mean between exaggeration and understatement.

ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται: 'in a case where there is the further difficulty of creating the impression of truth'. *καί* means 'besides the difficulty of using appropriate language'. *δόκησις* is the impression in the mind of the hearer that the words of the speaker are true. [Many editors put a comma after *εἰπεῖν*, taking *ἐν ᾧ* to mean *ἐν τῷ μετρίως εἰπεῖν.*]

ἐνδεεστέρως: see note on II. 2.

πρὸς ἃ βούλεται: *πρός*, 'in comparison with'.

διὰ φθόνον: these words, together with *ὁ ἄπειρος*, form the antithesis to *ὁ ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὔνους.*

τῷ δὲ ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν: *αὐτῶν* is partitive genitive, referring to *ὧν ἤκουσεν* (or possibly to *ἔπαινοι*), 'what is excessive in them', i.e. any statement that goes beyond the standard of what each individual thinks he could himself do. With the variant *αὐτόν* the meaning would be 'what surpasses himself (i.e. his own capacity)'; but the singular pronoun could hardly stand with the plural participle and verb immediately following. Sallust imitates this passage: *Cat.* 3. 2 'ubi de magna virtute atque gloria bonorum memores, quae sibi quisque facilia factu putat, aequo animo accipit, supra ea veluti ficta pro falsis ducit'.

36 '*Our forefathers, our fathers, and the present generation have all contributed to the greatness of Athens. Passing over what has been achieved by war, I will speak of the spirit and character of our public life.*'

1. **ἄρξομαι . . . πρῶτον**: a common pleonasm.

ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε: 'on an occasion like this'.

οἱ αὐτοί: explained by *διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων* as referring to the continuity of the race.

ἐλευθέραν . . . παρέδοσαν: by repelling the Persian invasions.

2 οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν: the generation immediately preceding that of Pericles, including men like Cimon and Aristides.

πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο: i.e. in addition to Attica.

οὐκ ἀπόνως: with *κτησάμενοι*.

3 τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς . . . ἐπηυξήσαμεν: (1) 'the greater part of it (the empire) we ourselves have consolidated', by converting free allies into subjects and increasing the tribute; but this gives a forced sense to *ἐπηυξήσαμεν*. (2) 'as for the rest, apart from the empire, we have made improvements'; *τὰ πλείω* being acc. of respect, *αὐτῆς* gen. of comparison (lit. 'as for what goes beyond the empire'), and the whole clause being explained by the following words *καὶ τὴν πόλιν . . . αὐταρκεστάτην*.

οἵδε: the speaker and his contemporaries.

μάλιστα: indicates that the statement is approximate, as frequently with numerals.

ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ: 'in mature age'; cp. Cic. *de Sen.* 33 'gravitas iam constantis aetatis'.

4 ὧν: referring to *οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν* and *αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς*.

πολέμιον: so Haase for *πόλεμον* of the MSS., which cannot be right after *κατὰ πολέμους*; the adjectival use of Ἕλληνα with *πόλεμον* is also impossible; Thuc. uses it only with words denoting persons, e.g. v. 6. 5 *ἱππῆς Ἕλληνες*. The bold expression *πόλεμον ἐπιόντα ἠμυνάμεθα* is not in itself out of place considering the style of the speech. Some editors simply strike out *πόλεμον* as a gloss.

ἤλθομεν: the variant *ἦλθον* would refer only to *οἱ πατέρες* and exclude the present generation.

ἐπ' αὐτά: *αὐτά* is often used of 'the actual condition of things', 'our present condition'.

τῶνδε: the dead.

ἀπρεπῆ: predicative with λεχθῆναι: cp. 102. 6 *τοιαῦτα λεγόμενα*.

ἐπακοῦσαι: of a large gathering hearing with difficulty; cp. i. 53. 3 *τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον ὅσον ἐπήκουσεν ἀνεβόησεν*.

37 'We are not imitators, but an example to others. In our democracy all are equal before the law; men are distinguished by merit, not by wealth. The same liberal spirit is shown in

private intercourse. We are obedient to the laws, written and unwritten.'

1 **παράδειγμα δὲ . . . ὄντες**: the form of the sentence is slightly irregular, as if instead of *ζηλούσῃ* we had *ζηλοῦντες*.

ὄνομα: acc. of respect, the subject of *κέκληται* being *ἡ πολιτεία*.

διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους . . . οἰκεῖν: 'because power does not rest with a minority', lit. 'because it is not administered (so as to fall) into the hands of a few'. For the intransitive use of *οἰκεῖν* as almost equivalent to the passive *οἰκεῖσθαι* cp. Plat. *Rep.* 547 C *πῶς οἰκήσει [αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία]*; The pregnant use of *ἐς* has a parallel in viii. 38. 3 *τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐς ὀλίγους κατεχομένης*. The variant *ἥκειν* is simpler: cp. viii. 89. 2 *τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν*, and Ar. *Plut.* 919 *εἰς ἔμ' ἥκει τῆς πόλεως τὰ πράγματα*.

μέτεστι δέ: the sentence starts with the verb, as though it were to belong to both clauses, but in the second a fresh verb (*προτιμᾶται*) is introduced.

πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα: 'in regard to their individual interests', or 'in regard to private differences (disputes)'.

κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν: 'in the judgement of public opinion'.

ἀπὸ μέρους: 'from the fact that he belongs to a particular section of the community' (e. g. the well-born, the wealthy); cp. vi. 39. 1 *ἐγὼ δέ φημι πρῶτα μὲν δῆμον ξύμπαν ὠνομάσθαι, ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ μέρος*.

ἔχων γε: the MSS. reading is *ἔχων δέ*, as if *πένης μὲν ὤν* had preceded instead of *κατὰ πενίαν*.

ἀξιώματος: 'position', the value put upon a man by his fellows.

2 **ἐς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους . . . ὑποψίαν**: 'with regard to men's suspicion of one another in their daily pursuits'. Pericles is referring to the jealous mistrust prevalent in other states, but not characteristic of Athens; cp. iii. 37. 2 (speech of Cleon) *διὰ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδεὲς καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον πρὸς ἀλλήλους*, vii. 69. 2 *πατρίδος τε τῆς ἐλευθερωτάτης ὑπομιμνήσκων [ὁ Νικίας] καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἀνεπιτάκτου πᾶσιν ἐς τὴν δίαιταν ἐξουσίας*.

οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μέν, λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι: 'nor assuming looks of displeasure which, though not penal, are painful to behold'. Others render *ἀχθ. προσ.* 'enacting torments' (such as the flogging of Spartan boys); others again join *τῇ ὄψει* with the participle, 'showing in their looks'. For the word *ἀχθηδών* see Introduction, p. xxi.

3 **διὰ δέος**: 'through awe' (reverence for the laws).

ἀκροάσει: instrumental dative, explaining *διὰ δέος*.

αὐτῶν: partitive genitive.

τῶν ἀδικουμένων: in a quasi-perfect sense, as often, 'the wronged'.

ἄγραφοι ὄντες: the unwritten, universal law of nature, as opposed to the particular law of each community; cp. Soph. *Ant.* 454 *ἄγραπτα κἀσφαλῆ θεῶν νόμιμα*.

αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσιν: sc. *τοῖς παρανομοῦσι*. There is no statutory penalty for the transgressors of the law of nature, but they are condemned by the unanimous verdict of the conscience of mankind.

38 '*Abundant provision is made for recreation, and Athens enjoys the good things of the whole world.*'

1 **τῇ γνώμῃ**: 'for the mind'.

ἀγῶσι μέν γε καὶ θυσίαις διετησίοις νομίζοντες: for *νομίζειν* with the dative of a customary observance cp. i. 77. 6 *οὔτε τούτοις χρῆται οὔθ' οἷς ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς νομίζει*, iii. 82. 8 *ὥστε εὐσεβείᾳ μὲν οὐδέτεροι ἐνόμιζον*. Such celebrations were so numerous at Athens that they could be said to last throughout the whole year.

καθ' ἡμέραν ἡ τέρψις: for the order of the words see note on 18. 3 *κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πορείαν*.

2 **ἐπεσέρχεται**: *ἐσέρχομαι* (or *ἐσπλέω*) is virtually passive of *ἐσάγω*, 'to import'.

αὐτοῦ: in Attica.

39 '*Unlike the Spartans, we do not expel aliens or undergo a laborious training. They always need allies when they attack us, whereas our whole force has never suffered defeat.*'

1 **ξενηλασίαις**: the Spartan Ephors had power to order a summary expulsion of aliens, ostensibly to prevent the corruption of Spartan manners, but also in reality to prevent the unprivileged class becoming too large. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 27. 6, assigns a different motive from that here indicated by Thuc.: *τοὺς ἀθροιζομένους ἐπ' οὐδενὶ χρησίμῳ καὶ παρεισρέοντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπήλαυνεν* [Λυκοῦργος], *οὐχ, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησί, δεδιὼς μὴ τῆς πολιτείας μιμηταὶ γένωνται καὶ πρὸς ἀρετήν τι χρήσιμον ἐκμάθωσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως μὴ διδάσκαλοι κακοῦ τινος ὑπάρξωσιν*.

ταῖς παρασκευαῖς . . . καὶ ἀπάταις: 'scheming and trickery'; cp. v. 9. 5 (speech of Brasidas) *καὶ τὰ κλέμματα ταῦτα καλλίστην δόξαν ἔχει ἃ τὸν πολέμιον μάλιστ' ἄν τις ἀπατήσας τοὺς φίλους μέγιστ' ἂν ὠφελήσειεν.*

τῷ ἀφ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν . . . εὐψύχῳ: 'the courage which has its source in our own breasts'.

ἀνειμένως: 'without artificial restraint' such as the Spartan system of training involved.

ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους: 'to contests where the risks on both sides are equal', not to contests with superior forces. Since the adjective is properly used of opposing forces which are equally matched, Usener conjectured *κινδύνους ἰσοπαλεῖς* (the latter agreeing with *ἡμεῖς*); but a reference to the *force* at the command of Athens is out of place here.

2 **καθ' ἑαυτούς**: 'by themselves'; so Valla, who renders by *per se tantum*, evidently read. The MSS. have *καθ' ἑκάστους*, which could only mean 'in contingents', 'one contingent at a time'; the antithesis to this would be *ξύμπαντες δέ*, not *μεθ' ἁπάντων δέ*. Cp. v. 109 *τῆς γοῦν οἰκείας παρασκευῆς ἀπιστίᾳ καὶ μετὰ ξυμμάχων πολλῶν τοῖς πέλας ἐπέρχονται.*

αὐτοί: 'we ourselves'; not 'by ourselves', which would require *ἡμεῖς* as a contrast to *Λακεδαιμόνιοι.*

3 **διὰ . . . τὴν . . . ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπίπεμψιν**: the objective genitive with the noun here represents a partitive genitive with the verb, *διὰ τὸ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιπέμπειν*, 'men of our own number'.

κρατήσαντές τέ τινας ἡμῶν: Thuc.'s rule is to use the gen. with *κρατεῖν* alone, the acc. with *μάχῃ* or *μαχομένους κρατεῖν* (e.g. § 2). The acc. here is due to the desire to avoid the juxtaposition of two genitives, and similarly in iii. 99 *τοὺς προσβοηθήσαντας Λοκρῶν ἐκράτησαν.*

αὐχοῦσιν: a word belonging to the language of Herodotus and of Aeschylus and Euripides; cp. Introduction, p. xxi.

4 **καίτοι**: 'now surely'.

ῥᾳθυμίᾳ: the word is to be interpreted by the contrast with *πόνων μελέτῃ* and by *ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι* in § 1; it is used, not of culpable slackness and indifference, but simply of the absence of worried and painful routine.

μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλέον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρείας: *νόμων* depends on

ἀνδρείας, 'with the manliness that is based not so much on rules as on habits of life'.

ἐθέλομεν: this is clearly preferable to *ἐθέλοιμεν*, for the speaker is recapitulating what he has said in § 1.

τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς: i. e. by thinking about coming troubles.

40 '*The Athenian attitude to wealth; the widespread interest in public affairs, and the importance attached to discussion and deliberation. Athens confers rather than receives benefits.*'

1 **φιλοκαλοῦμέν τε γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας κτλ.**: this famous sentence sums up the Athenian ideal in its triple aspect, appreciation of the beautiful in art (though avoiding extravagance), love of knowledge in the widest sense, and bodily vigour.

αἴσχιον: the meaning of the comparative seems to be, 'to make no effort to escape poverty is more disgraceful than it is (in the opinion of most people) to admit it'. Or *αἴσχιον* may represent *μᾶλλον αἰσχρόν*, 'rather is it disgraceful, &c.'.

2 **ἑτέροις πρὸς ἔργα τετραμμένοις.** There are two objections to the MSS. reading: (1) as *ἑτέροις* must denote a class of people distinct from *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* in the preceding clause, *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* must refer to statesmen; but from § 1 we should expect him to speak of the Athenians in general; (2) *ἔργα* alone can hardly mean 'ordinary occupations' as opposed to *τὰ πολιτικά*. [With this reading there is a strong contrast between *ἐπιμέλεια* and *μὴ ἐνδεῶς γνῶναι*; statesmen *superintend* public affairs (as well as their private affairs), while other citizens, engaged in ordinary occupations, *have a tolerable acquaintance with* public affairs.] The alteration of *ἑτέροις* to *ἕτερα* (with Classen), or preferably the insertion of *ἕτερα* after *ἑτέροις* (with Richards), gets rid of these difficulties; for then *τοῖς αὐτοῖς* and *τετραμμένοις* both refer to the Athenians in general, and we have a proper contrast to *τὰ πολιτικά* (*ἕτερα* with *ἑτέροις* meaning 'various occupations').

ἀπράγμονα: *otiosum*, in the mouths of the aristocratic party a term of praise applied to the man who was opposed to war abroad and to *συκοφαντία* at home; cp. 63. 2, 64. 4.

οἱ αὐτοί: *iidem*, 'likewise'. The variant *αὐτοί* would mean 'we ourselves', i. e. the whole body of citizens acting directly in the *ἐκκλησία*, not a limited class as at Sparta.

ἤτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα: *ἤτοι . . . γε* lays emphasis on the first alternative as the more certain; in English the order would be reversed, 'we either think out measures, or at all events pass judgement upon them'. Only the statesman could be said *ἐνθυμεῖσθαι* (cp. 60. 6), but every voter could be said *κρίνειν*.

μᾶλλον: sc. *βλάβην ἡγούμενοι*.

3 **ὥστε τολμᾶν τε . . . καὶ . . . ἐκλογίζεσθαι**: explanatory of *τόδε*. *μάλιστα* belongs to both infinitives.

ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις: *ὅ* may conveniently be represented by 'whereas'; the relative refers to the combined notion of *τολμᾶν τε καὶ ἐκλογίζεσθαι*, 'in regard to which'.

θράσος: *θράσυς* is used in a bad sense, *θάρσος* (e.g. 92. 1) in a good sense.

κράτιστοι . . . τὴν ψυχήν = *εὐψυχότατοι*. Elsewhere in Thuc. *ψυχή* always means 'life'.

4 **τὰ ἐς ἀρετήν**: in this section *ἀρετή* means 'kindness', 'generosity' (Schol. *τὴν φιλίαν καὶ εὐεργεσίαν*).

ἐνηντιώμεθα: the gloss of Hesychius shows that this form should be read for *ἠναντιώμεθα*: cp. Ar. *Av.* 385, where it is required by the metre.

κτώμεθα τοὺς φίλους: 'our friends', 'the friends that we do make'. Cp. Soph. *Ant.* 189 *ταύτης ἔπι | πλέοντες ὀρθῆς τοὺς φίλους ποιούμεθα*.

βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας . . . σῴζειν: 'the man who has done the gracious deed is a more constant friend, with a view to keeping alive the sense of obligation (lit. of a favour due to him) by (continued) kind feeling towards the recipient'. On this view the antecedent to *ᾧ* is *τούτου* (objective genitive after *εὐνοίας*). Or, supplying *τούτῳ* as antecedent, we may render 'preserving by kind feeling the sense of obligation in the recipient'. The *ὥστε* clause may express either the purpose or the result of the benefactor's constancy. [The Scholiast takes (*τοῦτον*) *ᾧ δέδωκε* as the subject of *σῴζειν*: 'so that the recipient may cherish the memory of his indebtedness'.] With *δράσας* and *δέδωκε*, the objective sense of *τὴν χάριν*, 'the act of kindness', is predominant; with *ὀφειλομένην*, the subjective sense 'gratitude'. The view that the relation of a benefactor to the person benefited is like that of a creditor to a debtor is discussed by Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ix. 7.

ἀμβλύτερος: his feeling is less vivid.

ἐς χάριν: 'as an act of grace', lit. 'with the result of (performing) an act of grace'.

5 τῆς ἐλευθερίας τῷ πιστῷ: 'with the confidence that is begotten of freedom', the confidence natural to a free people.

41 '*Athens affords the best training for the citizen; this is proved by the greatness of her power, which needs no poet's praise.*'

1 ξυνελών τε λέγω: for τε see note on 21. 3 *παντί τε τρόπῳ*.

τῆς Ἑλλάδος παίδευσιν: cp. Plat. *Protag.* 337 D *τῆς Ἑλλάδος αὐτὸ τὸ πρυτανεῖον τῆς σοφίας*.

δοκεῖν ἄν μοι . . παρέχεσθαι: *ἄν* belongs to *παρέχεσθαι*, and is repeated with the emphatic words *πλεῖστα* and *μάλιστα*.

παρ' ἡμῶν: 'from amongst us', suggesting 'because he is one of us', i. e. his citizenship of Athens moulds his character.

ἐπὶ πλεῖστ' εἴδη: 'for the most various modes of action'.

μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστ' εὐτραπέλως: 'with the most graceful versatility'.

τὸ σῶμα: 'his personality'.

2 ἐν τῷ παρόντι: 'merely for the moment'.

3 ἀκοῆς κρείσσων: 'superior to her reputation', lit. more powerful than what men have heard about her; cp. Hor. *Ep.* i. 11. 3 *maiora minorave fama*.

ἐς πεῖραν ἔρχεται: 'proves on trial'; for the contrast with *ἀκοῆς* cp. iv. 81. 2 *τῶν μὲν πείρᾳ αἰσθομένων, τῶν δὲ ἀκοῇ νομισάντων*.

ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει: 'rouses indignation'; cp. iv. 126. 4 *δόκησιν ἔχει ἰσχύος*. ἔχει, properly 'contains grounds for' = *παρέχει*.

ὑφ' οἵων = *ὅτι ὑπὸ τοιούτων* ('by so unworthy a foe').

4 καὶ οὐδὲν προσδεόμενοι οὔτε Ὁμήρου ἐπαινέτου: this clause is parenthetic, the antithesis to *οὐ δή τοι ἀμάρτυρόν γε . . . παρασχόμενοι* beginning at *ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν μὲν θάλασσαν*. For the attitude of Thuc. to Homer cp. i. 10. 3 *τῇ Ὁμήρου αὖ ποιήσει εἴ τι χρὴ κάνταῦθα πιστεύειν, ἣν εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον μὲν ποιητὴν ὄντα κοσμῆσαι*.

ἔπεσι: (1) 'verses', as in i. 3. 3 (of the *Iliad*) and in iii. 104. 4 (of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*); (2) 'words' in general, as in iii. 67. 6 *λόγοι ἔπεσι κοσμηθέντες*.

τῶν δ' ἔργων τὴν ὑπόνοιαν: 'the impression (which the poet creates) of the facts'. The genitive probably belongs also to *ἡ*

ἀλήθεια. This clause is inserted loosely after ὅστις: cp. 4. 5 and 34. 5, where there is a demonstrative pronoun in the second clause.

μνημεῖα . . . ξυγκατοικίσαντες: the reference is to the Athenian colonies and cleruchies, in which was exhibited the power of Athens to harm or benefit the peoples with whom she came in contact.

42 '*I now turn to praise the fallen. Neither the possession nor the prospect of wealth made any flinch from danger, but with hope and self-confidence they faced the foe.*'

1 ἐφ' οἷς = τούτων ἐφ' οἷς.

2 ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα: for ὑμνῶ used of an orator's praise cp. Aeschin. 1. 133.

αἱ τῶνδε . . . ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν: understand ταῦτα (acc. of respect) as antecedent to ἅ, and carry on τὴν πόλιν as object of ἐκόσμησαν.

πολλοῖς: not in the usual sense of the dative with φαίνεσθαι, but 'in the case of many'.

ἰσόρροπος . . . τῶν ἔργων: the regular construction with ἰσόρροπος is the dative. For the thought cp. i. 69. 5 ὧν ἄρα ὁ λόγος τοῦ ἔργου ἐκράτει.

ὥσπερ τῶνδε: the genitive is preferred to the dative (parallel with πολλοῖς) on account of the proximity of ὁ λόγος and τῶν ἔργων, on both of which τῶνδε depends. τῶνδε ὁ λόγος, 'their reputation'.

πρώτη τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαιοῦσα: τε . . . καί = *sive . . . sive*. πρώτη, in the case of the young; τελευταία, in the case of older men who had already seen service.

καταστροφή: 'the closing scene (of their lives)'; cp. Soph. *O. C.* 102 βίου . . . δότε | πέρασιν ἤδη καὶ καταστροφήν τινα. For the use here without βίου cp. the absolute use of καταστρέφειν in Polybius and Plutarch.

3 προτίθεσθαι: (1) 'be reckoned more important' than their faults; (2) 'be thrown as a veil' over their faults; less probably (3) 'should be displayed by those, &c.' (τοῖς . . . χείροσι dat. of agent). With (1) or (2) the verb may of course be also taken as middle voice.

ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων: 'through their conduct in private life'.

4 πλούτου: preferable to πλούτῳ, which would suggest an unreal antithesis with πενίας ἐλπίδι. The actual contrast is between the continued (ἔτι) enjoyment of wealth and its acquirement.

πενίας ἐλπίδι: 'the hope regarding poverty', explained by the ὡς clause. For the anticipatory use of the genitive, followed by a pronoun in the dependent clause, cp. i. 61. 1 ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι, i. 138. 2 τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐλπίδα, ἣν ὑπετίθει αὐτῷ δουλώσειν.

πλουτήσειεν: ingressive aorist.

αὐτῶν: i. e. the continued enjoyment and the acquisition of wealth.

λαβόντες: in the sense of ὑπολαβόντες, of 'regarding' a thing in a certain light; similarly with an adverb, iv. 17. 3 λάβετε δὲ αὐτοὺς μὴ πολεμίως.

μετ' αὐτοῦ: i. e. at the cost of this hazard.

τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι: τῶν δέ refers to the same things as αὐτῶν above. μετ' αὐτοῦ of course belongs to both infinitives; their desire was to cherish these ambitions, but only on condition that they faced the hazard of losing everything. Poppo's alteration to ἀφίεσθαι is therefore unnecessary.

τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν: 'what was uncertain in the prospect of success'. For the future infinitive see note on 29. 5 πέμπειν.

σφίσιν αὐτοῖς: with πεποιθέναι.

καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ [τὸ] ἐνδόντες σῴζεσθαι: 'and thinking that therein they ought even to die in consequence of resistance rather than save their lives by surrender'. ἐν αὐτῷ may mean either ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ or ἐν τῷ ἤδη ὁρωμένῳ (less probably ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ); τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι is instrumental dative, balanced by the participle ἐνδόντες. (It is of course possible to take ἐν αὐτῷ as agreeing with τῷ ἀμύνεσθαι; but then the contrast between resistance and surrender disappears.) The use of παθεῖν for ἀποθανεῖν is a common euphemism. ἡγοῦμαι in the sense of ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν is found elsewhere (cp. Plat. *Protag.* 346 B) with the infinitive, but not with the article and infinitive; hence the adoption of the readings τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι and τὸ ἐνδόντες σῴζεσθαι would require also the adoption of Dobree's conjecture κάλλιον for μᾶλλον.

τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου: i. e. the reproach of cowardice.

δι' ἐλαχίστου . . . ἀπηλλάγησαν: the interpretation of this clause depends mainly on the view taken of the construction of the geni-

tives τῆς δόξης and τοῦ δέους. (1) It seems best to join them with ἅμα ἀκμῇ, and to supply τοῦ βίου with ἀπηλλάγησαν: then the words δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης form a whole, καιροῦ being 'critical time', and διά with gen. meaning strictly 'after the lapse of . . .'. (2) If τῆς δόξης and τοῦ δέους are taken with ἀπηλλάγησαν, it is difficult to find a satisfactory sense for the former genitive; though the words τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ go well together. (3) Steup would separate δι' ἐλαχίστου from καιροῦ τύχης, and make the latter words depend on τῆς δόξης κτλ., 'at the height of the expectation rather than the fear of a decisive stroke of fortune'.

43 '*The survivors should show equal courage, from devotion to Athens and remembrance of the dead; imitate them, for you have much to lose, and death is better than defeat.*'

1 ἀσφαλεστέραν: 'less dangerous', i.e. not leading to so fatal a result.

μὴ λόγῳ μόνῳ: 'not by (the orator's) words only'; that this is the force of λόγῳ is clear from the following clause, λέγων . . . ἔνεστιν.

ἔργῳ: 'in its actual effects'.

αἰσχυνόμενοι: 'by their sense of honour', αἰσχύνη being the noble shame which restrains one from base conduct.

αὐτά: as in 36. 4.

οὐκ οὖν: *non ideo*, as οὐκ ὦν frequently in Herodotus.

ἔρανον: lit. 'a contribution' made by a member of a society or partnership formed for mutual benefit; hence it is used of contributions to a common meal, of subscriptions to benevolent societies, &c. The figurative sense in which the word is here used is explained in the next sentence.

προϊέμενοι: 'lavishing', not merely διδόντες or φέροντες (the words commonly used with ἔρανος).

2 κοινῇ: 'in the public interest'.

τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον: the adjective gains emphasis from its predicative position.

οὐκ . . . μᾶλλον, ἀλλά: a mixture of two forms, οὐ . . . μᾶλλον ἤ and οὐκ . . . ἀλλά.

παρὰ τῷ ἐντυχόντι αἰεὶ καὶ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καιρῷ: 'on every occa-

sion that presents itself, whether of speech or of action'. λόγου refers to such panegyrics as the Funeral Speech itself, ἔργου to battle. παρά with the dative of a noun not denoting a person is rare in prose; cp. 89. 9. For καὶ . . . , καί cp. 8. 4.

3 τῆς γνώμης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ἔργου: the genitives depend on μνήμη, 'a memorial preserved in the heart rather than in material records'. The other interpretation, 'a memorial of their spirit rather than of their achievement', (1) sacrifices the contrast with στηλῶν, (2) would naturally have τῶν ἔργων instead of the singular, (3) is not consonant with the natural view of the facts.

4 τὸ εὔδαιμον, . . . τὸ δ' ἐλεύθερον: these are the predicates, 'true happiness, . . . true freedom'.

περιορᾶσθε: 'look upon with anxiety' is the meaning required by the context, not 'make light of'; cp. vi. 93. 1 διανοούμενοι μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ πρότερον στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας, μέλλοντες δ' ἔτι καὶ περιορώμενοι.

5 οἷς ἡ ἐναντία μεταβολὴ ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἔτι κινδυνεύεται: 'those who by continuing to live run the risk of a change to the opposite state',

6 ἡ μετὰ τοῦ [ἐν τᾷ] μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις: 'the humiliation that attends cowardice'. ἐν τῷ, which stands in some MSS. before, in others after μετὰ τοῦ, is probably a gloss upon those words; cp. i. 6. 5, where the Scholiast explains μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι by ἐν τῷ γυμνάζεσθαι.

κοινῆς ἐλπίδος: 'the hope, which he shares with his comrades, (of victory)', or 'the hope that his country will be victorious'.

44, 45 *'For the parents I have encouragement: yours is the noblest kind of sorrow; some of you may still have children, and for the others there is consolation in the glory of the fallen. The children will find it hard to emulate their fathers. The widows should live a womanly life.'*

44 1 οὐκ ὀλοφύρομαι μᾶλλον ἢ παραμυθήσομαι: the change of tense is noticeable; the consolatory part of the speech is yet to come.

τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἷ ἂν . . . λάχωσιν: ἐστί is to be supplied with τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, rather than ὄν (after ἐπίστανται). For the relative clause where an infinitive might have been expected cp. vi. 14 τὸ καλῶς ἄρξαι τοῦτ' εἶναι, ὃς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ὠφελήσῃ ὡς πλεῖστα. Two forms

of expression are confused, (1) *τὸ δ' εὐτυχές ἐστι λαχεῖν*, (2) *εὐτυχεῖς δ' εἰσιν οἷ ἂν λάχωσιν.*

τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης: this agrees with both *τελευτῆς* and *λύπης*, and the force of *ὥσπερ* extends to *ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης.*

καὶ οἷς . . . ξυνεμετρήθη: 'and for whom the span of life was measured equally for happiness and for death'. The thought is that they can be called fortunate (*εὐτυχεῖς*) to whom death comes at a time of well-being (*εὐδαιμονία*), as it does to the man who dies a patriot's death (cp. 43. 4). For *ἐντελευτῆσαι* many substitutes have been proposed, e. g. *ἐνταλαιπωρῆσαι.* Objection has also been raised to the use of an indicative relative clause after *οἷ ἂν . . . λάχωσιν*, but in the second clause the speaker is thinking of the definite individuals who have fallen in the war.

2 **πείθειν**: objection has been raised to this word on the ground that Pericles cannot mean that it is difficult to persuade his hearers of what they already know (*ἐπίστανται*, § 1), or that he doubts his own powers of persuasion. But Shilleto rightly interprets, 'it is difficult to attempt persuasion (i.e. to urge you not to indulge in too much grief)'.

ὧν = *ἐπειδὴ τούτων.*

στερίσκηται: 'lacks'. The verb does not necessarily imply previous possession.

3 **ἀσφαλείᾳ**: 'security', 'stability', explained by the following clause.

ξυνοίσει: sc. *τὸ τέκνωσιν ποιεῖσθαι.*

παραβαλλόμενοι: a metaphor from gaming.

4 **ἡγεῖσθε**: with two constructions, (1) acc. and predicative noun, (2) acc. and infin.

τόνδε: the present period, after their bereavement.

ὥσπερ τινές φασι: cp. Simonides, quoted by Plut. *Moral.* 786 B *ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεστερημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἡδονῶν ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἔτι γηροβοσκεῖται, τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν.*

οὐκ . . . μᾶλλον . . ., ἀλλά: as in 43. 2.

5 1 **μέγαν τὸν ἀγῶνα**: the sons or brothers have a difficult task before them in seeking to emulate the achievements of the dead.

καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἀρετῆς: 'on the ground of extraordinary merit'.

οὐχ ὁμοῖοι, ἀλλά: these words are parenthetic: '(I will not say equal, but) . . .'.

τοῖς ζῶσι: 'in the case of the living envy is felt towards rivals', i. e. only during their lifetime are men envied by others. The neuter singular (*τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδών*) instead of the masc. plur. is very common in Thuc.

2 ὅσαι: as if *τῶν γυναικῶν* had preceded, instead of *γυναικείας*.

τῆς . . . ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως: 'the character that properly belongs to woman', as concerned with domestic relations, not with public affairs. [Others refer the expression to woman's fortitude in sorrow, or to the weakness of woman's nature.]

καὶ ἧς ἄν: sc. *καὶ μεγάλη ἡ δόξα ταύτης, ἧς ἄν*.

46 '*I have concluded my task. The children will be reared at the public expense.*'

εἴρηται καὶ ἐμοὶ λόγῳ: to mark the conclusion of the speech, *εἴρηται* is put forward out of its place in the natural order *καὶ λόγῳ ἐμοὶ εἴρηται*. *καὶ λόγῳ* clearly is contrasted with *καὶ ἔργῳ*: therefore we should not interpret *καὶ ἐμοί* as 'by me, as well as by speakers on previous occasions' (cp. 35. 3 *καὶ ἐμέ*).

μέχρι ἥβης: till the age of eighteen.

ὠφέλιμον στέφανον . . . τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀγώνων: not ornamental only, like the crown awarded at the games, but also profitable.

τοῖς δέ: for *ὁ δέ* in the apodosis cp. 65. 5.

ἄπιτε: to be preferred to the variant *ἀποχωρεῖτε*, as being the regular formula of dismissal (Plat. *Menex.* and Dem. *Epitaphios*).

47, 48 *Second invasion of Attica. Outbreak of the Plague; its source and track. Without discussing the probable causes, Thuc. proceeds to describe the symptoms.*

[See Note on the Plague, p. 86.]

47 1 τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε: in all the other instances where this formula occurs the dative *τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε*, or *τῷ πολέμῳ* alone, is used.

2 τὰ δύο μέρη: in apposition with the preceding words; cp. 10. 2.

3 λεγόμενον: the neuter seems to be used *κατὰ σύνεσιν*, as though *τὸ νόσημα* or *τὸ κακόν* had preceded, instead of *ἡ νόσος*. To the view that it is an accusative absolute there are two objections: (1) the lack of any parallel, (2) the difficulty of understanding *αὐτήν* as subject of *ἐγκατασκῆψαι*.

οὕτως: with *γενέσθαι*, instead of *τοσαύτη* with *φθορά*.

ἐμνημονεύετο: as often happens, the finite verb in the second clause balances the participle in the first.

4 **τὸ πρῶτον θεραπεύοντες ἀγνοίᾳ**: the implication is that the physicians subsequently treated the disease with some knowledge of its nature, *not* that they ceased to treat it at all when they had realized its virulence.

1 **Λιβύην**: i.e. northern Africa, westward of Egypt.

2 **ἐσέπεσε**: Herwerden's conjecture for *ἐνέπεσε*; cp. § 3 *ἐπιπέσοι*, and iii. 87. 1, where all MSS. have *ἡ νόσος τὸ δεύτερον ἐπέπεσε*.

τὰ φρέατα: the rain-water tanks or cisterns.

κρῆναι γὰρ οὔπω ἦσαν αὐτόθι: the new water-supply of Piraeus was probably due to the famous astronomer Meton about 414 B.C.

3 **γιγνώσκει**: 'judges', 'entertains an opinion' (*γνώμη*); cp. vi. 2. 1 *ἀρκείτω δὲ ὡς ποιηταῖς τε εἴρηται καὶ ὡς ἕκαστός πῃ γιγνώσκει περὶ αὐτῶν* (of the Cyclopes and Laestrygones).

καὶ τὰς αἰτίας . . . σχεῖν: this sentence has often been criticized as redundant, and it has been proposed to strike out *ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι* or *δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν*. But it is quite intelligible as it stands; *τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς*, which properly belongs to *τὰς αἰτίας*, being attracted into the relative clause. 'And (let him state) the causes for such a transformation which, in his opinion, were adequate to acquire power to produce the change.'

ἀφ' ὧν ἄν τις σκοπῶν . . . μάλιστ' ἂν ἔχοι: for the repetition of *ἄν* cp. 41. 1. For the principle that the future will resemble the past cp. i. 22. 4 *ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι*.

, 50 *Comparative absence of other diseases. The malady began in the head, gradually descending to the stomach. The majority died of the fever, others from ulceration and dysentery. Many escaped with mutilation and loss of memory. Effect on birds and quadrupeds.*

1 **ἐκ πάντων**: with *μάλιστα*, instead of the genitive alone; cp. Eur. *Alc.* 264 *οἰκτρὰν φίλοισιν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν μάλιστ' ἐμοί*. If the comma is put after *πάντων*, then *ἐκ* is used almost in the sense of *ὑπό*, 'on the part of all', an Ionic usage which occurs a few times in Thucydides.

προύκαμνε: *προ-* means 'before the plague reached Athens', not

'before it attacked the individual in question'; this is clear from 51. 1.

ἐς τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη: 'all illnesses determined (ended) in this alone'; cp. 51. 1 *ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα*.

2 ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς προφάσεως: 'from no obvious cause'. *πρόφασις* is here used of the superficial cause, as opposed to the more important and less obvious. Usually it means 'pretext', as distinguished from 'real cause'; e.g. vi. 33. 2 *πρόφασιν μὲν Ἐγεσταίων ξυμμαχίᾳ, . . . τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς κτλ.* But there is a striking exception in i. 23. 6 *τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ . . ., αἱ δ' ἐς τὸ φανερὸν λεγόμεναι αἰτίαι.*

ἄτοπον: 'extraordinary', 'unnatural'; cp. 51. 1 *ἀτοπίας*; the word is contrasted with *εἰωθός* in iii. 38. 5.

3 ἐξ αὐτῶν: 'following upon these symptoms'.

πόνος: 'pain,' 'distress'.

τὴν καρδίαν: 'the stomach', a use found also in Hippocrates.

στηρίξειεν: *στηρίζω* and *στήριξις* are used by Hippocrates of the 'determination' of a disease to a particular part of the body.

ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτήν: i.e. it produced nausea.

ἀποκαθάρσεις: 'evacuations' (by vomiting). The following words, *πᾶσαι . . . εἰσίν*, probably mean that the medical terminology was based upon the colour of the vomit.

4 λύγξ: 'retching'; rather than 'hiccough', an interpretation which renders *κενή* pointless.

ἐνέπιπτε: the variant *ἐνέπεσε* has support in § 5 *ἔδρασαν* and § 8 *ἠγνόησαν*; in all three cases the statement is made only of a section of the sufferers (*τοῖς πλέοσιν, πολλοί, τοὺς δέ*).

μετὰ ταῦτα λωφήσαντα: 'after these (evacuations) had ceased'; cp. vi. 3. 3 *μετὰ Συρακούσας οἰκισθείσας*. Others join *λωφήσαντα* with *σπασμόν*, explaining the aorist participle as referring to particular cases which the author has in mind, and *ταῦτα* as meaning the *ἀποκαθάρσεις* and the *λύγξ*. On either view *μετά* means 'just after'.

5 τὸ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἁπτομένῳ σῶμα: the position of the participle is somewhat awkward, as it refers only to the first of the clauses introduced by *οὔτε*; but its effect is to throw emphasis on *τὸ ἔξωθεν* as contrasted with *τὰ ἐντός*. There is no need to reject either *ἁπτομένῳ* or *σῶμα* as a gloss. In Hude's reading, *τῷ μὲν ἔξωθεν ἁπτομένῳ*

τὸ σῶμα, the adverb goes well with the participle, but the effect of the whole is clumsy.

χλωρόν: 'pale', a sense in which the word is often used of the effect of fear upon the countenance, and as an epithet of fear itself. The paleness of southern nations is of course of a yellowish tinge.

μήτε . . . μηδὲ . . . τε: μήτε is answered by τε, while μηδέ marks a subdivision of the μήτε clause.

μηδ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνοὶ ἀνέχεσθαι: 'or endure to be otherwise than naked'. γυμνοὶ (ὄντες) is nominative as though the subject of the sentence had been οἱ νοσοῦντες, instead of τὰ ἐντός; on the same principle σφᾶς αὐτούς is used in the next clause. The variant γυμνόν would agree with τὸ σῶμα understood.

τοῦτο . . . καὶ ἔδρασαν: 'actually did this', i.e. threw themselves into cold water. τοῦτο δρᾶν frequently represents a verb which has been already used. ἐς φρέατα is added to define the action more accurately.

τῇ δίψῃ ἀπαύστῳ: for the position of the adjective cp. 43. 2.

6 ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν: 'inability to rest', 'restlessness'. The negative with the infin. simply repeats the negative notion of the substantive—'inability which showed itself in not resting'; cp. iii. 75. 4 τῇ τοῦ μὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστίᾳ, 'through their mistrustful refusal to sail'.

εἰ διαφύγοιεν: 'if they pulled through', i.e. survived the first stage of the disease.

διαρροίας . . . ἀκράτου: cp. Galen, vol. 18, 1, p. 122 ἄκρητοι ὑποχωρήσιες αἱ ἄμικτοι ὑγρότητος ὑδατώδους.

7 αὐτοῦ: either possessive genitive masc. with τῶν ἀκρωτηρίων, or subjective genitive neut. meaning τοῦ κακοῦ.

ἐπεσήμαινεν: 'left its mark upon him'.

8 παραυτίκα ἀναστάντας: sc. ἐκ τῆς νόσου (the full expression occurs in Plat. *Lach.* 195 C), παραυτίκα being joined with the participle as εὐθύς often is; 'immediately on their recovery'. The language of Thuc. does not indicate whether the loss of memory was temporary or permanent.

1 τῶν ξυντρόφων: cp. Hdt. vii. 102 τῇ Ἑλλάδι πενίη μὲν αἰεί κοτε σύντροφός ἐστι, ἀρετὴ δὲ ἐπακτός ἐστι.

2 τεκμήριον δέ· τῶν μὲν τοιούτων: elsewhere (as in 15. 4, 39. 2) Thuc. always introduces the explanation with γάρ.

τοιοῦτον: i.e. the unburied corpses.

τοῦ ἀποβαίνοντος: i.e. that they died if they tasted the corpses.

51 *No one remedy was of general service; no physical strength availed. Worst of all was the despair, and the contagion. Instances of self-sacrifice. A second attack was not fatal.*

1 παραλιπόντι: for the dative cp. 49. 5 ἀπτομένῳ, also the common use of ξυνελόντι, λόντι.

πρὸς ἕτερον: 'as compared with another'.

τὴν ἰδέαν: 'in its essential nature', i.e. the characteristic features of the malady.

καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει . . . ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα: this practically repeats the statement in 49. 1; but whereas the earlier passage refers only to the first year of the plague, the words *κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον* in this sentence may include the whole period of the first epidemic (two years, iii. 87. 2).

γένοιτο must mean 'had occurred before the outbreak of the plague'.

2 ἕν τε οὐδὲ ἓν . . . ἴαμα: 'no single remedy', 'no specific'. *οὐδὲ ἕν* is more emphatic than *οὐδέν*.

ὡς εἰπεῖν = *paene dixerim*, indicating that the expression requires modification; here the universal negative *οὐδὲ ἕν* is not to be interpreted strictly.

ὅτι χρῆν προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν: 'which it was one's duty to apply in order to give relief', *χρῆν* belonging in sense to the participle rather than to the infinitive.

τοῦτο: the pronoun virtually repeats, with emphasis, *τό τῳ ξυνενεγκόν*.

3 πρὸς αὐτό: sc. *τὸ νόσημα*.

ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας: i.e. no matter whether the constitution was strong or weak.

4 ἀναπιμπλάμενοι: *ἀναπίμπλημι* and *ἀνάπλεως* frequently have the accessory notion of 'tainting' and 'tainted' (cp. Lat. *impleo*); the word here is used as a medical term for 'infected'. Cp. Plat. *Apol.* 32 C *ἀναπλῆσαι αἰτιῶν*, 'to involve (implicate) in guilt'.

τοῦτο: i.e. the infection.

5 ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος: 'through lack of some one to attend to

the sick'. The (generic) article with the fut. participle corresponds to Lat. *qui* with the subjunctive.

ἀρετῆς: as in 40. 4.

αἰσχύνῃ: cp. 43. 1 *αἰσχυνόμενοι*.

τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων: the genitive is probably objective and the participle imperfect, 'the lamentations over those who died'. This interpretation gives a satisfactory sense for *καί* before *τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις*: the relatives wearied *even* of what was a sacred duty. To render, 'the lamentations of the dying', leaves *καί* without force.

6 ἐπὶ πλέον: i. e. more than the relatives.

θνῄσκοντα ... κτείνειν: Thuc. uses the simple forms as well as those compounded with *ἀπο-*.

τὸν πονούμενον: of the sufferer under disease; cp. 49. 3 *ὁ πόνος*.

μηδ' ἂν ... διαφθαρῆναι: i. e. they thought that they would die simply of old age.

52 *Effects of overcrowding in the city; disregard of decency in the disposal of the dead.*

1 ἡ ξυγκομιδὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐς τὸ ἄστυ: attributes consisting of a preposition and case may stand outside the article and verbal noun without the repetition of the article; cp. 18. 3, 38. 1.

οὐχ ἧσσον: litotes for *μᾶλλον* (*ἢ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας*).

2 ὥρᾳ ἔτους: 'in the hot season of the year', 'in summer'; cp. *ἡ ὡραία* in Demosthenes.

νεκροί: pred. with *ἔκειντο*.

3 ἐναποθνῃσκόντων: genitive absolute, sc. *τῶν ἀνθρώπων*.

καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων: 'divine and human ordinances', the former being violated by the pollution of the temples, the latter by the scenes in the streets and at the wells.

4 ἔθαπτον: 'they disposed of the dead'. *θάπτω*, originally used of burning the body and burying the ashes, was extended to the later practice of burying the body entire.

θήκας: 'modes of burial' is the sense required by the epithet *ἀναισχύντους*; cp. Plato, *Rep.* 427 B *τελευτησάντων τε αὖ θῆκαι καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἐκεῖ δεῖ ὑπηρετοῦντας ἵλεως αὐτοὺς ἔχειν*, and the use of *τάφος* in the sense of *ταφή*.

φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας: these words belong only to the *μέν* clause, but are put in front for emphasis.

53 *Evil effects on morality.*

1 **ἀνομίας**: with **ἦρξε**.

ἀπεκρύπτετο μὴ καθ' ἡδονὴν ποιεῖν: *μή* simply reinforces the negative notion in *ἀπεκρύπτετο*. In this passage *καθ' ἡδονήν* refers to reprehensible pleasures (not as in 37. 2).

ὁρῶντες: plural after *τις*, which means 'many a man'.

2 **ἐπαυρέσεις**: the noun occurs also in Herodotus, the verb *ἐπαυρίσκεσθαι* is rare in Attic prose. Like *ἀπόλαυσις, ἀπολαύω*, they are used of 'reaping the fruits' of an action, whether good or bad; hence the addition of *πρὸς τὸ τερπνόν*.

3 **τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν**: for the acc. with *πρόθυμος* cp. iii. 67. 6 *χάριν δικαίαν ὦν (= τούτων ἃ) πρόθυμοι γεγενήμεθα*. The variant *προταλαιπωρεῖν* gives a satisfactory sense, 'to labour beforehand', in anticipation of the ideal good; but the dative goes better with *προστ.* 'to bestow pains upon'.

πανταχόθεν τε ἐς αὐτὸ κερδαλέον: *πανταχόθεν* means 'in any way', and *αὐτό = τὸ ἤδη ἡδύ*, 'the pleasure of the moment'. With the variant *καὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ ἐς αὐτό*, the adverb may be regarded as put before the article for emphasis, *τὸ πανταχόθεν . . . κερδαλέον* answering to *ὅτι . . . ἡδὺ (ἦν)*.

4 **τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες . . ., τῶν δὲ ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐλπίζων**: the participles are in the nominative, as though *ἀπείργοντο* had preceded. *τὸ μέν*, 'on the one hand'.

τὴν ἤδη κατεψηφισμένην: sc. *τιμωρίαν*. In this clause *πάντες νομίζοντες* must be understood.

εἰκὸς εἶναι: for the infin. in a relative clause cp. 13. 5.

54 *Oracles supposed to refer to the plague.*

2 **τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους**: cp. 41. 4.

φάσκοντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι: limiting apposition; cp. 4. 2 *ἄπειροι μὲν ὄντες οἱ πλείους*.

3 **ἐνίκησε**: the subject is *λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι*, '(the view that) plague was mentioned'; cp. 12. 2 *γνώμη . . . νενικηκυῖα*.

πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον: 'so as to agree with their sufferings'.

4 **τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων χρηστηρίου**: this has been mentioned in i. 118. 3.

5 **ὁμοῖα εἶναι**: sc. *τοῖς εἰρημένοις*. It was believed that the plague had been sent by Apollo, as in *Iliad* I. The attitude of Thuc. himself towards this oracle appears in v. 26. 3 *τοῖς ἀπὸ χρησμῶν τι ἰσχυ-*

ρισαμένοις μόνον δὴ τοῦτο (the prediction that the war would last thrice nine years) ἐχυρῶς ξυμβάν. In the passage before us he merely states the area affected by the plague, leaving his readers to draw their own conclusion as to the working of Apollo.

ἐπενείματο: the same metaphor is used of the ravages of fire (cp. Lat. *depascor*).

56 *The Peloponnesians ravage Attica. An Athenian fleet devastates the territories of Epidaurus and of other cities.*

1 τὸ πεδίον: the great plain of Attica; cp. 20. 1 and 4.

τὴν Πάραλον γῆν καλουμένην: the south-eastern district of Attica.

Ἀθηναίοις: the dative is added because the mines belonged to the state.

ὁρᾷ: *spectat.*

1 ἑτοῖμα ἦν: cp. 3. 4.

2 πρῶτον τότε: for the first time at Athens? or for the first time during the Peloponnesian war? They had been used by the Persians (Hdt. vi. 48, vii. 97).

4 Ἐπίδαυρον: in the Argolic peninsula, as were also Troezen, Halieis, and Hermione (§ 5).

6 Πρασιάς: on the east coast of Laconia.

57 *The plague appears in the fleet. Retreat of the Peloponnesians.*

1 θάπτοντας ἅμα ᾐσθάνοντο: the smoke from the funeral-pyres would indicate this.

2 τῇ δὲ ἐσβολῇ ταύτῃ: for the dative see note on 20. 1. With ἐνέμειναν understand ἐν τῇ γῇ.

58 *The fleet is sent to Potidaea, and carries the plague thither.*

1 ἥπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐχρήσατο: in the operations narrated in ch. 56.

μηχανάς τε . . . προσέφερον: elsewhere Thuc. uses *προσάγειν* and *προσκομίζειν*.

2 ἐνταῦθα δὴ πάνυ: the plague had been in this army already, but it now increased in virulence.

τοὺς προτέρους στρατιώτας: see note on 31. 2.

ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ: *πρὸ τοῦ* is one of the few expressions in which Attic Greek preserves the use of *ὁ, ἡ, τό* as a demonstrative pronoun.

3 κατὰ χώραν: 'as they were', 'in their place'.

59 *The Athenians are discontented with Pericles, and make overtures to Sparta.*

1 **ἠλλοίωντο τὰς γνώμας**: cp. iv. 106. 1 *ἀλλοιότεροι ἐγένοντο τὰς γνώμας.*

2 **πρέσβεις τινάς**: as the ambassadors were unsuccessful, Thuc. does not think it necessary to mention their names.

3 **ξύλλογον ποιήσας**: see note on 22. 1.

60 *Speech of Pericles. 'Your anger is not surprising, but it is not justified. The safety of the state is more important than the interests of individuals. My wisdom, eloquence, patriotism, and integrity should exempt me from your accusations.'*

1 **καὶ προσδεχομένῳ . . . καὶ ἐκκλησίαν**: parataxis; *καὶ . . . καί*, 'as . . . so'.

τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑμῶν: 'the manifestations of your anger'.

ὑπομνήσω: the truth of which they are to be reminded is stated in § 2.

2 **πλείω**: with *ὠφελεῖν*.

3 **καλῶς . . . φερόμενος**: 'prospering'. *φέρεσθαι* in this sense is used both of persons and of things; cp. v. 16. 1 *πλεῖστα τῶν τότε εὖ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις.*

τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν: cp. II. 3.

4 **τὰς ἰδίας ξυμφοράς**: i. e. *τὰς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ξυμφοράς.*

καὶ μή: sc. *δρᾶν.*

ταῖς κατ' οἶκον . . . ἔχετε: this sentence is explanatory of the words *ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε.* The absence of *γάρ* is not uncommon.

ξυνέγνωτε: 'voted with me', 'took the same view as I did'; cp. 64. 1 *ξυνδιέγνωτε.*

5 **γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα**: for this combination of qualities cp. viii. 68. 1, where Antiphon is characterized as *κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἃ γνοίη εἰπεῖν*, and ibid. § 4 (of Theramenes) *ἀνὴρ οὔτε εἰπεῖν οὔτε γνῶναι ἀδύνατος.*

6 **ὁμοίως**: sc. *ὥσπερ εὔνους ὤν.*

προσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦδε, χρήμασι δὲ νικωμένου: *τοῦδε* means *τοῦ φιλόπολιν εἶναι*, but *νικωμένου* agrees with *αὐτοῦ* understood ('the man in question').

7 **μᾶλλον ἑτέρων = μᾶλλον ἢ ἑτέροις.**

αὐτά: the four qualities mentioned in § 5.

61 '*The war was inevitable. It is you who have changed, under the pressure of calamity. But you ought to be true to your reputation as Athenians.*'

1 **αἵρεσις**: i. e. a choice between peace and war.

πολεμῆσαι: ingressive aorist.

εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν: the imperfect refers to the time when the Spartans presented their ultimatum.

κινδυνεύσαντας περιγενέσθαι: the emphasis is on the participle.

2 **ὁ αὐτός εἰμι**: sc. *τῇ γνώμῃ* (the full expression occurs in iii. 38. 1); similarly with *ἐξίσταμαι* understand *τῆς γνώμης*, and with *μεταβάλλετε* understand *τὴν γνώμην*.

τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον: 'my policy'.

ἐν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀσθενεῖ τῆς γνώμης: the neut. adj. with article used substantivally may have another adjective as attribute.

τὸ μὲν λυποῦν: the unpleasant consequences of the policy advocated by Pericles.

ἔχει . . . τὴν αἴσθησιν: cp. 41. 3 *ἀγανάκτησιν ἔχει*.

ἅπασι: with *δήλωσις*.

ἐξ ὀλίγου: cp. 11. 4.

ταπεινὴ . . . ἐγκαρτερεῖν: 'faint-hearted in persevering in . . .'. Understand *τούτοις* as antecedent to *ἅ*.

3 **φρόνημα**: 'self-confidence'.

4 **ξυμφοραῖς ταῖς μεγίσταις . . . ὑφίστασθαι**: the accusative is the case which Thuc. elsewhere uses with this verb.

τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης: the genitive, which depends on *ἐλλείπει*, is put forward for emphasis and contrast with *τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης*, which similarly is separated from its governing word *ὀρεγόμενον*.

63 '*We are supreme on the sea, and our power does not depend on lands or houses. Face the enemy with well-grounded confidence. Not only independence, but empire, is at stake; you cannot safely give up your empire.*'

1 **τὸν δὲ πόνον**: this accusative is resumed by *αὐτόν* in the fourth line of the chapter, and is anticipatory of the subject of the subordinate clause *μὴ γένηταί τε πολύς*; the construction is therefore *ἀπέδειξα οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὑποπτευόμενον τὸν πόνον . . ., μὴ γένηται . . .*, 'I have

shown that you are wrong in your misgivings that the trouble may prove great'.

ἄλλοτε πολλάκις: e. g. in ii. 13 and i. 140–4.

ὑπάρχον: with *ἐνθυμηθῆναι*; cp. i. 120. 4 *οὐκ ἐντεθύμηται θράσει ἀπίστῳ ἐπαιρόμενος.*

οὔτ' ἐγώ: sc. *δοκῶ ἐνθυμηθῆναι.*

οὐδ' ἂν νῦν ἐχρησάμην . . ., εἰ μὴ . . . ἑώρων: the aorist indicative not referring to past time in the apodosis of a conditional sentence is found chiefly in Plato; it differs from the (normal) imperfect in not implying duration.

2 οἴεσθε μὲν γάρ: here begins the explanation of *τόδε.*

μερῶν: parts of the globe; cp. viii. 46. 3 *τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης μέρος.*

ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἔθνος: 'any nation besides (*or* either)', i. e. any nation not under monarchical government; for the use of *ἄλλος* cp. 14. 1 *τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευήν.*

3 οὐ κατά: 'not to be compared with', i. e. 'far more important than'.

ὧν μεγάλων νομίζετε ἐστερῆσθαι: 'in losing which you think that you have suffered serious loss'.

χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν: for the causal genitive cp. i. 77. 3 *τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν.*

μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ: a confusion of *μᾶλλον ἤ* and *ἀλλ' οὐ*, generally occurring (as here) after a negative.

κηπίον: 'only the garden of the house' (Jowett).

πρὸς ταύτην: cp. 35. 2 *πρὸς ἃ βούλεται.*

ὑπακούσασι: dative of disadvantage; sometimes parallel to a genitive absolute, as in iv. 10. 3 *μενόντων μὲν ἡμῶν . . ., ὑποχωρήσασι δέ.* Thuc. uses *ὑπακούειν* with gen. or dat. (61. 1).

φιλεῖν = *solere*: parallel to *ἀναληψομένην*, the acc. and infin. being used after *γνῶναι* when it means 'to decide'.

κατ' ἀμφότερα: this is explained by the next clause: 'both as regards winning (*κατέσχον*) and as regards bequeathing (*παρέδοσαν*)'.

φανῆναι: parallel to *ὀλιγωρῆσαι καὶ γνῶναι.*

αὐτά: as in 36. 4.

μὴ φρονήματι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι: for a similar play upon words cp. iii. 39. 2 *ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν*, iv. 62. 2 *ὑπεριδεῖν . . . προϊδεῖν.*

4 **αὔχημα**: this represents *φρόνημα* in its unfavourable aspect of undue self-confidence.

καταφρόνησις δὲ ὃς ἂν . . . πιστεύῃ: the structure here is probably the same as in 44. 1 *τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἳ ἄν . . .*, where see note. An alternative view is that *τούτῳ ἐγγίγνεται* is to be supplied.

γνώμῃ: probably combines the notions of 'knowledge' and 'spirit', in contrast with *ἀμαθίας* and *δειλῷ*.

5 **ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης**: i. e. when fortune does not favour one side more than the other.

ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος: this corresponds to *καταφρόνησις* above, as *ξύνεσις* to *γνώμη*: the words are most simply taken with *παρέχεται*, 'in consequence of the disdain (which intelligence produces)'. If they are joined with *ἡ ξύνεσις*, the meaning can only be, 'intelligence, in circumstances where disdain is present'.

ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ: when men are at a loss and cannot form a judgement (*γνώμη*).

γνώμῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων: sc. *μᾶλλον πιστεύει*: 'judgement based on facts'.

63 1 **τῷ τιμωμένῳ**: 'the honourable position of Athens'.

ἢ μηδὲ τὰς τιμὰς διώκειν: *ἤ* = *εἰ δὲ μή*, 'or else'.

κινδύνου ὧν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀπήχθεσθε: (1) 'danger arising from the enmity which (*ὧν* = *τούτων ἅ*) you have incurred by the exercise of your supremacy'; (2) 'danger from those in governing whom you have incurred enmity' (*ὧν* masc.).

2 **εἴ τις καὶ τόδε . . . ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἀνδραγαθίζεται**: 'if any one in a spirit of indolence is for playing the honest man in this way'. *τόδε* is internal acc. ('exhibiting this form of *ἀνδραγαθία*'), and means *τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκστῆναι*. Cp. iii. 40. 4 *παύεσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀκινδύνου ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι*, and the note on 40. 2 *ἀπράγμονα*.

3 **οἱ τοιοῦτοι**: the people referred to in the clause *εἴ τις . . . ἀνδραγαθίζεται*.

ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν: 'by themselves', in some colony.

ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν: these words are best taken as subject of *ξυμφέρει*; 'safe subjection (e. g. the safety which might be secured by accepting the dictation of Sparta) is not expedient in a sovereign state, but only in a vassal state'. The alternative is to regard *τὸ ἄπραγμον* as subject of *ξυμφέρει*, and *ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν* as an infin. of purpose belonging only to the second clause *ἐν ὑπηκόῳ*.

64 *'Do not blame me for the invasion or the plague. Remember how Athens became famous and powerful. Empire involves hatred, but it is worth the cost. Send no more embassies to Sparta.'*

1 ἐλπίδος κρεῖσσον: cp. 50. 1 *κρεῖσσον λόγου*, 41. 3 *ἀκοῆς κρείσσων*.

μέρος τι μᾶλλον: 'considerably more' than on account of the enemy's ravages.

2 ἀναγκαίως: 'with resignation', as recognizing that they are inevitable.

ἐν ὑμῖν: 'so far as rests with you'.

κωλυθῇ: cp. 8. 4.

3 καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι: the force of *καί* is, 'as well as to increase'.

Ἑλλήνων τε ὅτι . . . ᾠκήσαμεν: these clauses are best taken as explanatory of *μνήμη*, rather than as depending on *γνῶτε* at the beginning of the section.

καθ' ἑκάστους = *singulos*, and is virtually one word governed by *πρός*.

4 καίτοι: as in 39. 4.

5 ἐπὶ μεγίστοις: 'with a view to the greatest ends'.

ἡ δὲ παραυτίκα τε λαμπρότης καὶ ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα: the two notions are so closely connected that one article does duty with both nouns. Some editors omit *τε*, and make the predicate begin at *καί*.

6 ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν προγνόντες: 'having regard in your decision to future honour'.

65 *Varying attitude of the Athenians towards Pericles. His policy, and the causes of his ascendancy; contrast between him and later leaders.*

1 παραλύειν: Thuc. uses the word elsewhere of deposing an official (with gen. *τῆς ἀρχῆς*); the metaphorical use occurs in poetry and late prose.

τῆς τε ἐς αὐτὸν ὀργῆς: the variant *ἐπ'* for *ἐς* has a parallel in Dem. xxi. 70.

2 ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων: as compared with *οἱ δυνατοί*, 'the influential'.

οἰκοδομίαις τε καὶ . . . κατασκευαῖς: datives of respect with *καλὰ κτήματα*.

ἔχοντες: this refers to all classes, not to *οἱ δυνατοί* only.

3 ἐζημίωσαν χρήμασιν: 80 talents, according to Diodorus xii. 45;

Plutarch, *Per.* 35, gives 15 to 50 talents. He was charged with embezzlement (Plat. *Gorg.* 516 A).

4 **ὅπερ φιλεῖ ὅμιλος ποιεῖν**: cp. iv. 28. 3 *οἷον ὄχλος φιλεῖ ποιεῖν* (of the people pressing the command on Cleon); vi. 63. 2 *οἷον δὴ ὄχλος φιλεῖ θαρσήσας ποιεῖν* (of the Syracusans); viii. 1. 4 *ὅπερ φιλεῖ δῆμος ποιεῖν* (of good order at Athens produced by fear).

στρατηγὸν εἵλοντο καὶ πάντα τὰ πράγματα ἐπέτρεψαν: similar extraordinary powers were conferred on Alcibiades (viii. 82. 1 *τὰ πράγματα πάντα ἀνετίθεσαν*). Cp. the designation *στρατηγοὶ αὐτοκράτορες* (of the generals in the Sicilian expedition, vi. 8. 2) and *ἡγεμὼν αὐτοκράτωρ* (of Alcibiades, Xen. *Hell.* i. 4. 20).

ὧν . . . ἦλγε: causal genitive, as with *χαλεπῶς φέρειν*, 62. 3; the antecedent to be supplied is *ταῦτα*, acc. of respect with *ἀμβλύτεροι*; similarly in the next clause with *πλείστου ἄξιον*.

ἡ ξύμπασα πόλις: 'the state as a whole', opposed to individuals; the variant *ξύμπασα ἡ* would mean 'the whole state', not a part only.

5 **ἐξηγεῖτο . . . διεφύλαξεν**: the aorist sums up the result of the process indicated by the imperfect.

ὃ δὲ φαίνεται: δέ in apodosis; cp. 46. 1.

τὴν δύναμιν: sc. *τῆς πόλεως* (cp. what is said in § 13), rather than *τοῦ πολέμου*.

7 **ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου δοκοῦντα εἶναι**: the reference is mainly to the Sicilian expedition, which was regarded (wrongly) as having no bearing on the Peloponnesian war.

ἔς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους: with bad results for Athens and for her relations with the allies (because such undertakings led to their revolt).

8 **τῷ ἀξιώματι**: see note on 37. 1.

χρημάτων . . . ἀδωρότατος: cp. iii. 58. 5 *ἀτίμους γερῶν*.

ἐλευθέρως: as in 37. 2; not despotically, but in the spirit of a true citizen.

ἔχων: probably the participle is parallel to *κτώμενος*, and has *τὴν δύναμιν* as its object. It might also be regarded as parallel to *διὰ τὸ μὴ . . . λέγειν*, and as having *ἀντειπεῖν* in dependence on it.

ἐπ' ἀξιώσει: 'in virtue of the respect in which he was held'; cp. 37. 1.

πρὸς ὀργήν: 'indignantly'; or (regarding the words as a contrast to *πρὸς ἡδονήν*) 'in such a way as to excite their anger'.

9 **κατέπλησσεν**: 'he beat them down'.

ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχή: for *ὑπό* in dependence on a verbal noun cp. i. 130. 1 *ὧν . . . ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, viii. 64. 4 *φυγὴ αὐτῶν ἔξω ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρὰ τοῖς Πελοποννησίοις*.

10 **καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι**: 'to surrender the management of affairs' to the people as well as (*καί*) to flatter them.

11 **ἄλλα τε πολλὰ . . . ἡμαρτήθη καὶ ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς**: for the passive construction cp. iii. 67. 6 *ἔργων ὧν . . . ἁμαρτανομένων*.

ὡς ἐν μεγάλῃ πόλει: *ὡς*, 'as was to be expected'.

πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν: the antecedent to be supplied is *τούτων*, in dependence on *γνώμης ἁμάρτημα*, 'an error of judgement with regard to those against whom'.

οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες: 'Thuc. appears to have in view the violent party contests which broke out in reference to the Hermae and the other irreligious acts at Athens, after the departure of the armament, especially to the mischief of recalling Alcibiades, which grew out of those contests' (Grote).

κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ . . . προστασίας: with these words *ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες* is to be repeated. The term *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* is applied to any influential popular leader: it is improbable that it was an official title like the Roman *tribunus plebis*. It occurs in Thuc. in connexion with Megara, Corcyra, and Syracuse, as well as Athens.

τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν: 'in domestic politics'.

πρῶτον: for the first time during the war, as contrasted with the later development referred to at the end of § 12.

12 **†τρία† μὲν ἔτη ἀντεῖχον**: *τρία* cannot be defended, with Arnold, as referring to the period from the arrival of Cyrus in western Asia Minor to the fall of Athens. Thuc. evidently means the period from the failure of the Sicilian expedition to the fall of Athens. Haacke's conjecture *δέκα* is supported by Xen. *Hell.* ii. 4. 21 and Isocr. *Panath.* 57; but these authors are speaking in round numbers, and Shilleto's *ὀκτώ* is to be preferred, reckoning from the spring of 412 (when the revolt of the allies began) to the spring of 404.

τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικελίας: a Syracusan squadron, under the command of Hermocrates, appears frequently in Book VIII.

περιπεσόντες: with ἐν σφίσι, 'coming to blows with one another', in the party struggles towards the end of the war; for this sense Croiset compares Hdt. viii. 16 ταρασσομενέων τε τῶν νεῶν καὶ περιπιπτουσέων περὶ ἀλλήλας. Most editors seek to provide περιπεσόντες with a dative, either by omitting ἐν (Herwerden), or by altering the following words (e.g. Stahl would read καὶ ταῖς ἰδίαις διαφοραῖς), or by supplying αὐταῖς (Poppo).

13 τοσοῦτον τῷ Περικλεῖ ἐπερίσσευσε τότε ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς προέγνω: 'such abundant grounds had Pericles at the beginning of the war (τότε) for his own foresight . . .'. Others join ἀφ' ὧν with περιγενέσθαι, rendering 'such abundant resources had Pericles, by means of which . . .'.

Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν: 'the Peloponnesians by themselves', without the Siceliots, the revolted allies, and Cyrus.

66 *The Peloponnesians attack Zacynthus.*

1 εἰσὶ δὲ Ἀχαιῶν . . . ἄποικοι: the subject οἱ Ζακύνθιοι is readily understood from Ζάκυνθον τὴν νῆσον. According to Pausanias, viii. 24. 2, the first settler came from Arcadia.

2 ναύαρχος: such was the designation of the Spartan admiral-in-chief, whose position on sea was parallel to that of the kings as generals on land; cp. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 9. 33 ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν οὖσι στρατηγοῖς ἀϊδίοις ἡ ναυαρχία σχεδὸν ἑτέρα βασιλεία καθέστηκεν. The office was held for a year, and only once in a lifetime; but the rule could be evaded, e.g. by the appointment of Lysander as ἐπιστολεύς or 'second in command' to the titular admiral.

67 *Peloponnesian ambassadors on their way to Persia are captured in Thrace, and put to death at Athens.*

1 Ἀριστεὺς Κορίνθιος: he had been in command of the force sent from Corinth to aid Potidaea (i. 60–5). Herodotus (vii. 137) mentions only Ἀριστέας, Ἀνήριστος, and Νικόλας; and instead of Sadocus (§ 2) he gives Nymphodorus (cp. Thuc. ii. 29. 1).

ἰδίᾳ: because Argos was a neutral state (9. 2).

ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτείδαιαν: 'for the relief of Potidaea'.

ᾗπερ ὥρμηντο: these words are explained by πέραν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου.

Φαρνάκην: satrap of Dascyleum.

2 τὸ μέρος: 'so far as it depended on them'.

περαιώσειν : the active only here in Thuc. in the sense of *περαιοῦσθαι*, 'to cross'. But the ordinary meaning 'to convey across' may be retained by supplying the indefinite subject *τινές*.

ἐσβαίνειν : at Bisanthe on the Hellespont, according to Herodotus, vii. 137.

4 ἐς φάραγγα ἐσέβαλον : just as the bodies of criminals were cast, after execution, into the *βάραθρον*.

οἵσπερ καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ὑπῆρξαν : the dative is probably by attraction for *ἅπερ*, as Thuc. does not elsewhere have the dative (but the genitive) with *ὑπάρχειν*.

ἐς φάραγγας ἐσβαλόντες : cp. i. 134. 4 *καὶ αὐτὸν* [Pausanias] *ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν, οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους, ἐσβάλλειν*.

μηδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων = *μετὰ μηδετέρων*.

68 *The Ambraciots attack Amphilochian Argos. Origin of the quarrel between these states.*

1 Ἀμπρακιῶται : Ampracia or Ambracia was a Corinthian colony on the river Arachthus, a few miles from its junction with the Ambracian Gulf.

Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικόν : on the eastern side of the Gulf.

3 μετὰ τὰ Τρωικὰ οἴκαδε ἀναχωρήσας : cities in all parts of the Hellenic world ascribed their foundation to warriors returning from Troy (see Grote, ch. xv). Thus Thuc. iv. 120. 1 says that the people of Scione claimed descent from the Pellenians of Achaea, who had been driven by storms to the coast of Chalcidice.

οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος τῇ ἐν Ἄργει καταστάσει : Alcmaeon, the elder brother of Amphilochus, had slain their mother Eriphyle; cp. 102. 5. The foundation of Amphilochian Argos is ascribed by other authors (Strabo vii. 326 C, Apollodorus iii. 7. 7. 4) to Alcmaeon or to his son Amphilochus.

5 ἠλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν : 'they were taught their present Hellenic language'.

7 Ἀκαρνᾶσι : on the south side of the Ambracian Gulf.

Φορμίωνα : he had been already mentioned as serving against Samos in 439 B.C. (i. 117. 2) and against Potidaea and the Chalcidians (29. 6, 58. 2).

ἀφικομένου [δὲ] τοῦ Φορμίωνος : either *δέ* must be omitted or

altered to *δή*, or the participle *προσπαρακαλέσαντες* must be replaced by *προσπαρεκάλεσάν τε*.

9 **Χαόνων**: a tribe in Epirus.

69 *A fleet under Phormio is sent to Naupactus, and another fleet to the coast of Caria and Lycia. Athenian reverse in Lycia.*

1 **ἐκ Ναυπάκτου**: see note on 9. 4.

τοῦ Κρισαίου κόλπου: the original name of what was afterwards called the Corinthian Gulf; from *Κρῖσα*, the Phocian town in whose territory was the temple of Delphi.

ταῦτά τε ἀργυρολογῶσι: *ταῦτα*, 'these districts'. Ships sent to collect the arrears of tribute from the allies were called *ἀργυρολόγοι νῆες*. The tribute was normally paid at Athens at the time of the Great Dionysia; arrears were collected by *ἐκλογεῖς* chosen from the wealthiest class of the citizens.

Φασήλιδος: on the borders of Lycia and Pamphylia.

τῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἠπείρου: Egypt is meant; cp. viii. 35. 2, where six Peloponnesian ships are stationed off Cnidus to seize *τὰς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ὁλκάδας προσβαλλούσας*.

2 **ἀναβάς**: *ἀνα-* of motion into the interior of a country; cp. 67. 1 *ἀναπέμψειν*.

70 *Surrender of Potidaea.*

1 **οὐδὲν μᾶλλον**: there is a tacit comparison with the diplomatic action which preceded the war; i. 139. 1 *Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . φοιτῶντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους Ποτειδαίας ἀπανίστασθαι ἐκέλευον*.

βρώσεως πέρι ἀναγκαίας: 'diet to which necessity reduced them', 'meagre diet'; cp. v. 8. 3 *τὴν ὅπλισιν ἀναγκαίαν οὖσαν*, vi. 37. 2 *ἐκ σκηνιδίων καὶ ἀναγκαίας παρασκευῆς*.

3 **τοὺς ἐπικούρους**: Corinthian volunteers and Peloponnesian mercenaries, numbering 1,600 hoplites and 400 light-armed (i. 60. 1).

4 **καὶ ᾗ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο**: the order *ἕκαστος ᾗ* might be defended by comparison with 72. 3 *ἄλλο εἴ τι δυνατόν*. Meineke conjectured that *κατεσκευάσατο* had dropped out after *ἐδύνατο*, Stahl would insert *κατῴκησαν* before *ἕκαστος*.

ἐποίκους: see note on 27. 1.

[τὸ] δεύτερον ἔτος: in every other instance the ordinal stands without the article; cp. 47. 1.

71 *The Peloponnesians invade the territory of Plataea. Remonstrance of a Plataean embassy.*

1 **ἔλεγον**: in introducing *oratio recta* Thuc. uses the imperfect almost as often as the aorist; cp. 34. 8, and for the aorist 59. 3, 72. 1, 86. 6.

2 **πατέρων ὧν ἐστέ**: as the relative clause is equivalent to the possessive *τῶν ὑμετέρων*, the substantive may stand without the article; cp. § 3 *πατέρες οἱ ὑμέτεροι*.

ξυνάρασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον: the usual construction with this verb is the partitive genitive.

Διὶ ἐλευθερίῳ: an annual sacrifice was offered to the Zeus of Freedom by the Plataeans in the presence of deputies from every part of Greece; and every fourth year the 'Ελευθέρια, 'Games of Freedom,' were celebrated (Plut. *Aristides* 21).

στρατεῦσαι . . . ἀμύνειν: these infinitives depend on *ἐκέλευε*, implied in *ἀπεδίδου*.

εἰ δὲ μή: see note on 5. 5.

3 **ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ προθυμίας**: cp. Hdt. viii. 1 *ὑπὸ δὲ ἀρετῆς τε καὶ προθυμίης Πλαταιέες ἄπειροι τῆς ναυτικῆς ἐόντες συνεπλήρουν τοῖσι 'Αθηναίοισι τὰς νέας.*

4 **ὅρκιους**: in whose name the oaths were taken; cp. iii. 58. 1 *θεῶν ἕνεκα τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν ποτὲ γενομένων.*

τοὺς ὑμετέρους πατρῴους καὶ ἡμετέρους ἐγχωρίους: Zeus and Apollo.

72–74 *Reply of Archidamus: 'Either join us in liberating the other Greeks, or be neutral'. He offers to undertake responsibility for the safety of Plataean property and territory. The Plataeans, receiving promise of support from Athens, reject this offer. Archidamus solemnly protests that his action is righteous.*

72 1 **δίκαια λέγετε . . . τοῖς λόγοις**: i. e. your appeal is warranted if your own action has corresponded to what you expect from us. The next sentence implies that this condition has not been fulfilled.

αὐτῶν ἕνεκα . . . ἐλευθερώσεως: we say, 'and for whose liberation'; see note on 4. 5.

μάλιστα μὲν . . . 'εἰ δὲ μή: 'if possible . . ., but if not . . .'. *μάλιστα μέν* indicates the ideally best course.

ἅπερ . . . προυκαλεσάμεθα: there has been no mention of this before.

ἀδύνατα: for the plural see note on 3. 3.

2 παῖδες γὰρ . . . εἶεν: the acc. and infin. would be the normal construction.

ἐπιτρέπωσιν: i. e. allow them to remain neutral.

κατὰ τὸ ἀμφοτέρους δέχεσθαι: 'in virtue of the stipulation "to receive both parties"'.

πειράσωσι: the variant *πειράσουσι* is unsupported by any other instance in Thuc. of the fut. indic. after a verb of fearing.

3 δένδρα: 'fruit-trees' (e.g. olives).

ἐς ἀριθμὸν ἐλθεῖν: 'to be counted'.

φοράν: 'rent'.

1 κομισθῆναι: sc. *πάλιν*, of the return of the ambassadors from Athens.

3 ἀφ' οὗ ξύμμαχοι ἐγενόμεθα: see note on 2. 1 *Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίδα*.

1 ὁρῶντας καὶ ἄλλο πάσχοντας: the influence of *εἰ δεῖ* (*σφᾶς ἀνέχεσθαι*) causes the acc. to be used instead of the regular nom.

2 ἐντεῦθεν δή: like the common *ἐνταῦθα δή* and *οὕτω δή*.

πρῶτον μέν: this is answered by *τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας*, 75. 1.

ἔχετε: 'protect', Lat. *colere*.

ξυνίστορες: cp. Soph. *Ant.* 542 *ὦν τοῦργον, Ἄιδης χοὶ κάτω ξυνίστορες*.

τὴν ἀρχήν: 'at the outset'.

τὸ ξυνώμοτον: 'the sworn covenant'; cp. 72. 1 *ξυνώμοσαν*. The word usually means 'conspiracy'.

γῆν τήνδε: the noun stands first, and the demonstrative is added for emphasis (just as the article and adjective are often added).

αὐτήν: see note on 4. 5.

ἤν τι ποιῶμεν: a euphemism.

ξυγγνώμονες δὲ ἔστε: here in an unusual sense, 'give your consent', 'permit', equivalent to *ξυγχωρήσατε*.

τῆς μὲν ἀδικίας: the genitive goes both with *κολάζεσθαι* and with *ὑπάρχουσι*.

τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι: sc. *τὴν τιμωρίαν*.

, 76 *The Peloponnesians raise a mound against the wall. The Plataeans heighten the wall, and draw away materials from the mound; finally they build an inner wall. Use of siege-engines, and devices to counteract them.*

5 1 περιεσταύρωσαν: with the MSS. reading *περιεσταύρωσεν* the subject might be either *ὁ στρατός* or *Ἀρχίδαμος*.

τοῖς δένδρεσιν : see note on 72. 3.

τοῦ μηδένα ἐπεξιέναι : see note on 22. 1, and cp. § 5 below.

πρὸς τὴν πόλιν : the mound was only on one side of the city (cp. § 4), whereas the palisade completely surrounded it.

2 φορμηδόν : 'cross-wise', like the interlaced strips of a basket or mat (*φορμός*) ; cp. iv. 48. 4 *αὐτοὺς* (i. e. *τοὺς νεκροὺς*) . . . *φορμηδὸν ἐπὶ ἁμάξας ἐπιβαλόντες*.

ὕλην : 'brushwood', as opposed to *ξύλα*, 'logs'.

3 † ἑβδομήκοντα † : the number is inconsistent with the language of § 1, *ἐλπίζοντες ταχίστην αἵρεσιν ἔσεσθαι αὐτῶν*, and of 77. 2, *ἄνευ δαπάνης*. Stahl conjectures *ἐννέα*, which seems rather too short for the operations narrated ; Steup's *ἑπτακαίδεκα* is very probable.

διῃρημένοι : probably middle voice, 'dividing (the work) among themselves'.

κατ' ἀναπαύλας : 'so as to allow of intervals for rest'.

οἱ ξεναγοί : Spartan officers associated in the command with the leaders of each contingent (hence *ξυνεφεστῶτες*).

4 ξύλινον τεῖχος : a wooden framework, the interstices of which were filled with bricks.

5 αὐτοῖς : i. e. *τοῖς Πλαταιεῦσι*.

6 ᾗ προσέπιπτε τὸ χῶμα : the mound did not actually touch the wall ; cp. 77. 3.

76 1 τὸ διῃρημένον : this must refer to the gap in the mound, caused by the removal of the earth, not to the breach in the wall, although *διελόντες* has just been used of the latter.

διαχεόμενον : neuter, referring to 'the material', 'the contents of the crates' ; cp. 47. 3.

2 ξυντεκμηράμενοι ὑπὸ τὸ χῶμα : a pregnant construction, 'having by guesswork carried it under the mound'.

3 τὸ μὲν μέγα οἰκοδόμημα : the superstructure of wood and bricks (75. 4, 5) ; to this *αὐτοῦ* in the next sentence refers.

τοῦ βραχέος τείχους : that part of the wall which was still of the original height.

ἐκ τοῦ ἐντός : we say, 'in an inward direction'.

4 μηχανάς : 'siege-engines', especially battering-rams.

τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδομήματος . . . ἐπὶ μέγα : *ἐπὶ μέγα* is virtually a substantive in the accusative case ; cp. iv. 100. 2 *καὶ ἐσεσιδήρωτο*

ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ξύλου, iv. 3. 2 *φύσει καρτερὸν ὂν καὶ ἐρῆμον αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας*.

κατὰ τὸ χῶμα: 'along the mound' (a different sense in § 3).

ἀνέκλων: as in vii. 25. 6, the word means lit. 'bent upwards', i. e. they pulled the ends of the battering-rams upwards so that they struck the wall at an angle and did comparatively little damage.

καὶ δοκοὺς μεγάλας . . . τὸ προῦχον τῆς ἐμβολῆς: owing to the length of the sentence the relative *ἃς* is lost sight of, but is virtually repeated in the last four words.

τῆς τομῆς: 'the stump' at the point where the beam had been sawn off.

ἐγκαρσίας: so as to fall transversely across the battering-ram.

τῆς ἐμβολῆς: the head of the battering-ram.

77 *An abortive attempt to set fire to Plataea.*

1 **ἀπὸ τῶν παρόντων δεινῶν**: 'with the existing means of compulsion', rather than 'with the existing difficulties'.

2 **πολιορκίας**: 'blockade'.

3 **τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως**: the genitive depends on the whole expression *ὅσον ἐδύναντο . . . ἐπισχεῖν*. The words are not equivalent to *τοῦ ἄλλου τείχους*, but refer to the interior of the city; else there would be no point in *ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου*.

4 **ἀπ' αὐτοῦ**: i. e. *ἀπὸ τοῦ τριφθῆναι*. (Cp. Lucretius i. 897 sqq.) Others regard the words as an explanation of *ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου*; Steup suggests that they may mean *ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός*.

5 **τοῦτο . . . ἐλαχίστου ἐδέησε διαφθεῖραι**: personal construction.

αὐτῇ ἐπίφορον: *αὐτῇ* means *τῇ φλογί*, and *ἐς τὴν πόλιν* is to be supplied with *ἐπίφορον*, as appears from the parallel passage in iii. 74. 2.

6 **νῦν δέ**: 'as it was'.

78 *Circumvallation of Plataea. Number of the besieged.*

1 **μέρος μέν τι καταλιπόντες τοῦ στρατοῦ, τὸ δὲ πλέον ἀφέντες**: the second clause is absent in A B F, and the other MSS. vary between *πλέον* and *λοιπόν*. But there is no reason to doubt the soundness of the text, nor is there any improbability in the statement. Plataea was not a large city (77. 2), and the whole of Archidamus' large army (75. 1) would not be required for its circumvallation; there was besides the difficulty of finding supplies, and the harvest at home had to be got in.

2 **περὶ ἀρκτούρου ἐπιτολάς**: Arcturus would begin to be visible as a morning star about the middle of September; cp. Jebb on Soph. *O. T.* 1137.

3 **καὶ πλῆθος τὸ ἀχρεῖον τῶν ἀνθρώπων**: this includes the slaves, as well as the three classes already mentioned.

ἐκκεκομισμένοι ἦσαν: 'had had them removed'; cp. 6. 4.

σιτοποιοί: in vi. 22 Nicias urges that the Sicilian expedition should include *σιτοποιοὺς ἐκ τῶν μυλώνων πρὸς μέρος ἠναγκασμένους ἐμμίσθους*.

79 *An Athenian force is defeated by the Chalcidians at Spartolus.*

1 **Βοττιαίους**: a Thracian people who had formerly dwelt between the Axius and the Haliacmon, and, being expelled by the Macedonians, settled near Olynthus.

ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου: see note on 19. 1.

τρίτος αὐτός: this implies that he had precedence over his two colleagues; see note on 13. 1.

2 **προσχωρήσειν**: *προσχωρεῖν* represents the passive of *προσάγειν*, hence the construction with *ὑπό* and the genitive.

πρασσόντων: cp. 2. 3.

τῶν οὐ ταὐτὰ βουλομένων: for this use of *βούλομαι* to indicate political aims cp. iv. 78. 3 *τῶν τἀναντία τούτοις βουλομένων*, vi. 50. 3 *ἄνδρες τὰ Συρακοσίων βουλόμενοι*.

καὶ στρατιά: 'and (other) troops', i. e. the cavalry and light-armed of § 3.

4 **εἶχον δέ τινας οὐ πολλοὺς πελταστάς**: the subject is probably *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*, and the sentence is an explanation of the mention of *ψιλούς* on the Athenian side, for in § 1 we hear only of hoplites and cavalry. For *πελταστάς* see note on 29. 5.

τῆς Κρουσίδος γῆς καλουμένης: on the coast of the Thermaic Gulf.

ἄλλοι πελτασταί: contrasted with the *ψιλοί* included in the *στρατιά* of § 2.

5 **ἀναχωροῦσι**: sc. *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*.

80 *The Spartans send an expedition under Cnemus to Acarnania; the composition of his force.*

Ἀκαρνανίαν τὴν πᾶσαν: not only Amphilochian Argos, which had now an Acarnanian element in its population (68. 7) and might be regarded as part of Acarnania. As a minority of the Acarnanians

was on the Peloponnesian side (9. 4), *τὴν πᾶσαν* must be understood with that qualification.

ῥᾳδίως Ἀκαρνανίαν σχόντες . . . κρατήσουσι: after *ῥᾳδίως* A B E F M have *ἄν*, which may be due to dittography of the first two letters of *Ἀκαρνανίαν*. Steup thinks that it is a corruption of *ἄνω* (cp. 83. 1), which should stand after *Ἀκαρνανίαν*.

2 **ναύαρχον ἔτι ὄντα**: see note on 66. 2.

3 **ἦσαν . . . ξυμπροθυμούμενοι**: cp. 12. 2 *ἦν . . . νενικηκυῖα*.

5 **βάρβαροι δὲ Χάονες**: instead of the partitive genitive parallel to *Ἑλλήνων μέν*, the whole is put in apposition to the part.

7 **κρύφα τῶν Ἀθηναίων**: because of the alliance, 29. 6.

ὕστερον: as in 5. 3.

8 **τῆς Ἀργείας**: the territory of Amphilochian Argos.

82 *The Acarnanians appeal to Phormio for aid. The barbarians in the army of Cnemus are defeated by the men of Stratus, and Cnemus falls back on Oeniadae.*

3 **μέσον**: often in the military sense without the article.

οἱ μετὰ τούτων: these have not been mentioned in the list of forces in ch. 80; perhaps they were Acarnanian sympathizers.

4 **διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχοντες**: used absolutely, in the sense of *φυλασσόμενοι*.

ἐπέσχον τὸ στρατόπεδον καταλαβεῖν: 'stopped to occupy their camp', the article meaning the camp which they would naturally have formed. The rendering, 'intended', finds no support in Thuc., though the usage occurs in Herodotus.

6 **ἐς φόβον καταστάντων**: sc. *τῶν Χαόνων μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων*; cp. 8. 4 *προειπόντων*, 52. 3 *ἐναποθνῃσκόντων*.

7 **αὐτούς**: i. e. *τοὺς βαρβάρους*: the subject of *οἰηθῆναι* is *τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ στρατόπεδα*.

8 **ἐνέκειντο**: here in an unusual sense; regularly it is used of 'attack'.

ἄνευ ὅπλων: *ὅπλα* includes the whole equipment of a heavy-armed soldier, but here refers especially to the defensive armour—breastplate, shield, and greaves. Cp. the adjective *ἄοπλος*, which is used in iv. 9. 2 of rowers equipped (for special service) with wicker shields.

τοῦτο ποιεῖν: i. e. *σφενδονᾶν*.

82 **τὸν Ἄναπον ποταμόν**: to the west of the Acheloüs.

Οἰνιαδῶν: the Oeniadae inhabited a town of the same name, in

the south of Acarnania, in the midst of a marsh near the mouth of the Acheloüs. The place had been besieged without success by Pericles in 454 B.C. (i. III. 3).

83, 84 *A fleet from Corinth and other states on its way to Leucas is intercepted by Phormio and defeated. It retreats to Cyllene, where it is joined by Cnemus with the ships of the northern allies.*

83 1 ἄνω: with *ξυμβοηθῶσιν*; cp. 67. 1 *ἀναπέμψειν*, 69. 2 *ἀναβάς*.

περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας τῆς . . . μάχης: this may be defended by supposing an ellipsis of *τῇ* before *τῆς*. Steup would read *αὐτὰς τάς*, Madvig *τῇ . . . μάχῃ*.

2 ἔξω τοῦ κόλπου: with *παραπλέοντας*, 'sailing along in order to get outside the Gulf'.

ἐν τῇ εὐρυχωρίᾳ: the wide expanse westward of the strait between Rhium and Antirrhium. For Phormio's motive see 89. 8.

3 στρατιωτικώτερον παρεσκευασμένοι: i.e. *μᾶλλον ἐπὶ στρατείαν* (87. 2), equipped for making descents at various points on the Acarnanian coast.

σφῶν κομιζομένων: genitive absolute, although the participle refers to the subject of the sentence.

ἀφορμισάμενοι: so Bloomfield for *ὑφορμισάμενοι*. The Corinthians came to anchor, but slipped their moorings during the night in the hope of crossing to the Acarnanian coast unperceived; Phormio, however, detected the movement. The compressed narrative of Thuc. omits mention of the first fact, but the second must be stated if the clause *οὕτω δὴ . . . πορθμόν* is to be intelligible.

κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν: not the strait at Rhium, but the gulf to the westward.

5 ὡς μέγιστον οἱοί τ' ἦσαν: these words are limited by *μὴ διδόντες διέκπλουν*, 'without allowing an opportunity for the *διέκπλους*', a manœuvre which consisted in passing between two of the enemy's ships and then swiftly turning so as to ram their sterns or sides or smash their oars or rudders.

παραγιγνόμενοι: the masculine refers to the crews of the five ships.

προσπίπτοιεν: to be preferred to *προσπλέοιεν*, which is not used elsewhere of a hostile advance.

84 1 κατὰ μίαν ναῦν τεταγμένοι: 'in line ahead', one ship behind another; cp. 90. 4.

ἐν χρῷ: a metaphor from shaving or cutting the hair close to the skin; cp. Lat. *radere*.

2 ὅπερ: object of ἀναμένων and subject of εἰώθει.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἕω: the same preposition occurs in Homer and Arrian, and there is no need to alter it to ὑπό.

τότε: i.e. when the land-breeze blew.

τῶν κελευστῶν: their duty was by their calls to make the rowers keep time; cp. vii. 70. 6 ἀποστέρησιν τῆς ἀκοῆς ὧν οἱ κελευσταὶ φθέγγοιντο παρέχειν.

κλύδωνι: this form is cited by Photius and Suidas; the MSS. have κλυδωνίῳ.

ἀναφέρειν: to keep the oars clear of the water in the interval between strokes.

ἀλκήν: an Ionic word, used by Thuc. several times.

4 ἀνελόμενοι: 'taking on board their own ships'.

ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ: the promontory on the Locrian coast, also called Ἀντίρριον or τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Μολυκρικόν (86. 2), facing the promontory on the coast of Achaea, τὸ Ῥίον τὸ Ἀχαϊκόν (86. 4).

ναῦν ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι: probably there was a temple of Poseidon at the Locrian Rhium, as there certainly was at the Achaean (Strabo viii. 336 c).

5 Κυλλήνην τὸ Ἠλείων ἐπίνειον: this port was not far from the Achaean frontier.

ἀπὸ Λευκάδος: Cnemus had gone there from Oeniadae (82).

αἱ ἐκείνων νῆες: the fleets of Leucas, Anactorium, and Ampracia (80. 3).

, 86 *Brasidas and other 'advisers' are appointed to co-operate with Cnemus. Twenty Athenian ships, intended to reinforce Phormio, are sent first to Crete. Stations of the opposing fleets at the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf.*

5 1 ξυμβούλους: other instances occur of 'advisers' to an admiral (iii. 69. 1, viii. 39. 2) and to a king (v. 63. 4).

2 πρῶτον ναυμαχίας πειρασαμένοις: i.e. for the first time in the Peloponnesian war.

οὐ τοσούτῳ: not so much as was really the case.

3 ναῦς τε προσπεριήγγειλαν: a pregnant construction for ναῦς τε παρασκευάζεσθαι προσπ.

5 τῷ δὲ κομίζοντι: the omission of the commander's name is exceptional.

Κυδωνίαν: the population of Cydonia included settlers from Aegina (Strabo viii. 545), who would be bitterly hostile to Athens.

6 ὑπ' ἀνέμων καὶ ἀπλοίας: strong head winds would make the task of the rowers impracticable; the second noun is therefore almost synonymous with the first, *καί* introducing another aspect of the same fact. This explanation, however, will not hold if the preposition is repeated before the second noun; hence editors regard *καὶ ὑπ' ἀνέμων* in the latter reading as a gloss.

86 1 Πάνορμον τὸν Ἀχαϊκόν: the epithet is added because there were other towns of the same name in Sicily and near Miletus.

οὗπερ . . . προσεβεβοηθήκει: *οὗπερ* is possible, instead of *οἷπερ*, since the pluperfect expresses the state resulting from a prior act: 'where the land-force was present to support them'. Cp. iv. 14. 1 *ταῖς δὲ λοιπαῖς (ναυσὶν) ἐν τῇ γῇ καταπεφευγυίαις.*

3 διέχετον: all MSS. have *διείχετον*, an impossible form for the 3rd pers. dual imperf. in Attic. The imperfect has good authority in i. 63. 2 *ἀπεῖχε.*

σταδίους μάλιστα ἑπτά: various estimates of the distance are given by Strabo (5 stades), Scylax (10 stades), and Pliny (*minus mille passuum*). The coast-line is liable to constant alteration: at present the distance is 11 or 12 stades.

4 εἶδον: sc. *ὁρμισαμένους.*

5 ἐπὶ μὲν ἓξ ἢ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας: as in 25. 3.

6 τὴν ναυμαχίαν ποιῆσαι: the active is used of the generals bringing on the battle.

87 *Speech of the Peloponnesian admirals.* '*Our recent defeat was due to want of preparation, chance, and inexperience. We have the advantage of the Athenians in courage, in numbers, and in the support of the army. Let every man do his duty; the commanders will not fail in theirs; cowardice will be punished, and valour rewarded.*'

1 οὐχὶ δικαίαν ἔχει τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι: 'affords no just ground for a judgement that can cause you alarm'. Two views of the construction are possible: (1) the article and infin. are used in a consecutive sense, like ὥστε, (2) *τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι* is the object of *ἔχει*, with *δικαίαν τέκμαρσιν* in apposition.

οὐχὶ ἐς ναυμαχίαν: cp. 83. 3.

τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης: the reference is to 84. 3.

πρῶτον ναυμαχοῦντας: cp. 85. 2.

3 προσεγένετο: simply 'occurred', rather than 'was added' (to our other misfortunes).

τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν: 'our resolution, in so far as it was not conquered by force', but in consequence of the three drawbacks already mentioned—want of preparation, bad luck, and inexperience. Some editors render *κατὰ κράτος* 'entirely', 'completely', without justification from the usage of Thucydides. With the reading of B, which omits *μή*, it is necessary to take *κατὰ κράτος* in a sense which it frequently bears, 'only by the exercise of the full strength of the enemy'.

ἀντιλογίαν: 'defence' or 'reply' to the taunt of defeat.

αἰεί: 'under all circumstances', irrespective of luck.

ὀρθῶς: 'rightly', i.e. if they do their duty.

κακούς: here and in § 9 in the sense of 'cowards'.

4 λείπεται: sc. *τῆς ἐπιστήμης ἐκείνων*.

μνήμην: 'presence of mind'.

ἐκπλήσσει: cp. 38. 1.

5 τὸ ἀπαράσκευοι τότε τυχεῖν: both *τυγχάνω* and *διατελῶ* are sometimes used by Thuc. without a participle.

7 προσγενόμενα: this seems to mean, 'added to (our other advantages)'.

8 τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν: see note on 11. 3.

9 τιμήσονται: Thuc. also uses the passive form *τιμηθήσονται* (vi. 80. 4).

88 *Phormio encourages the Athenians, who are daunted by the numbers of the enemy.*

1 κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ξυνιστάμενοι: cp. note on 21. 3 *κατὰ ξυστάσεις τε γιγνόμενοι*.

2 καὶ προπαρεσκεύαζε τὰς γνώμας: these words, stating the result of *ἔλεγε*, are interposed between that verb and the *ὡς* clause which depends on it.

ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς πλῆθος νεῶν τοσοῦτον: *αὐτοῖς* depends on *τοσοῦτον* (*ἐστι*), and is to be repeated in thought as dat. of agent with *ὑπομενετέον*. It is actually expressed after the latter word in many MSS.,

but the word has already occurred twice in as many lines and could hardly stand again.

ἦν ἐπιπλέῃ: these words depend on the following clause ὅτι . . . ἐστί, though they occur somewhat awkwardly here.

ὑποχωρεῖν: this is the only instance in Attic where the construction with the accusative is certain.

89 *Speech of Phormio.* '*The enemy's numbers prove that they do not think themselves a match for us; their experience has been gained on land, not on sea; the allies of Sparta are reluctant to fight. We lack neither experience nor courage, and shall avoid fighting in the narrow channel, where skill in manœuvring would be useless. Be alert, obedient, and silent. You have a heavy responsibility; but remember you have already defeated the greater part of them.*'

2 ὁμοῖοι: Lat. *pares*, 'a match for us'.

καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου: the negative aspect of τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν.

ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται: the relative pronoun has no antecedent, for the construction is changed at οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι, the notion of πιστεύοντες being repeated in θαρσοῦσιν.

κατορθοῦντες: the participle is causal, balancing οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι, and διὰ τὴν . . . ἐμπειρίαν depends upon the participle.

ποιήσειν τὸ αὐτό: τὸ αὐτό means τὸ κατορθοῦν, and the subject of ποιήσειν is τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν.

3 τὸ δέ = τὸ δὲ κατορθοῦν.

ἐν ἐκείνῳ = ἐν τῷ πεζῷ.

εὐψυχίᾳ: 'courage' as a permanent feature of character, contrasted with the 'boldness' (θρασύτης) engendered by circumstances.

θρασύτεροί ἐσμεν: the subject is not ἡμεῖς, but ἑκάτεροι: Spartans or Athenians are the bolder on any given occasion according to their respective superiority in land or sea fighting.

4 διὰ τὴν σφετέραν δόξαν: these words go with ἡγούμενοι αὐτῶν. For διά with acc. in the sense of ἕνεκα with gen., indicating purpose, cp. iv. 40. 2 δι' ἀχθηδόνα ('in order to annoy him'), v. 53 ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἔσπραξιν ἐσβαλοῦντες ('in order to exact payment of the sacrifice').

ἐπεί: 'for otherwise' (sc. οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, εἰ μὴ ἄκοντες προσήχθησαν).

ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολύ: cp. i. 29. 5 ἐνίκησαν παρὰ πολύ.

5 **φόβον . . . πιστότερον**: cp. v. 14. 1 *οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ῥώμης πιστὴν ἔτι.*

τοῦ παρὰ πολύ: probably *νενικηκέναι* is to be supplied.

6 **ἀντίπαλοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ πλείους**: 'most men, when they are a match for the enemy'; or, 'the more numerous side, when matched against the other'.

πίσυνοι: Thuc. is the only Attic prose writer who uses this word; cp. Introduction, p. xxi.

οἱ δὲ ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων: sc. *ἐπιόντες* or *ὁρμώμενοι.*

τῷ οὐκ εἰκότι: i.e. because we are doing what it was not likely we should do, viz. opposing them with inferior numbers.

ἢ τῇ κατὰ λόγον παρασκευῇ: 'than (they would have feared us) if our preparations had been in proportion to theirs'.

7 **ὧν οὐδετέρου ἡμεῖς νῦν μετέχομεν**: the point of the sentence is in the implied contrast, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετέχουσι.*

8 **ἐκὼν εἶναι**: 'if I can help it', lit. 'so far as being willing is concerned'. The idiom occurs almost always in negative sentences.

ἐμβολήν: the ramming of the enemy's ship, either on the broadside or at the bow, with the ram (*ἔμβολον*); cp. vii. 36. 3 *τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς . . . λεπτὰ τὰ πρῴραθεν ἐχούσας διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀντιπρῴροις μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἢ ἐκ περίπλου ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς χρῆσθαι.*

πρόσοψιν: Bekker conjectured *πρόοψιν*, 'seeing in front'; but in v. 8. 3 *ἄνευ προόψεως* the word means 'foresight'.

οὔτ' ἂν ἀποχωρήσειεν ἐν δέοντι: cp. vii. 36. 5 *τὴν γὰρ ἀνάκρουσιν οὐκ ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐξωθουμένοις ἄλλοσε ἢ ἐς τὴν γῆν.*

διέκπλοι τε οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδ' ἀναστροφαί: see note on 83. 5 *διέκπλουν* The second part of the manœuvre there described is probably what is meant by *ἀναστροφή.*

9 **παρὰ ταῖς ναυσὶ μένοντες**: i.e. on land, ready to embark; cp. 90. 3 *ἄκων καὶ κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐμβιβάσας.* For *παρά* with dat. of thing see note on 43. 2.

περὶ πλείστου ἡγεῖσθε: only here in Thuc. instead of *ποιεῖσθε.*

ὃ ἔς τε: so Stephanus, for *ὥστε* of the MSS.

10 **τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ**: for the force of the genitive cp. 42. 4 *πενίας ἐλπίδι.*

11 **αὖ**: either 'a second time', referring to § 5, or 'on the other hand', introducing a contrast with *ὁ ἀγὼν μέγας ὑμῖν.*

ἐθέλουσιν: *solent*; the only instance in Thuc. of this use.

90 *The Peloponnesian fleet sails in the direction of Naupactus, to save which place Phormio also sails eastward. Suddenly the Peloponnesians change direction and charge the Athenian ships, some of which are driven ashore.*

1 **τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Φορμίων**: *δέ* is used, as in other passages, where the formula at the end of a speech is virtually a repetition of one already used with *δέ* (as here 88. 1 *ὁ δὲ Φορμίων κτλ.*).

ἐπὶ τεσσάρων: 'four deep', i.e. in four lines.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν: if these words are taken with *ταξάμενοι τὰς ναῦς* they must mean 'with their own coast behind them'—a sense which it is questionable whether *ἐπί* will bear. The alternative is to read *παρά* (with C G) instead of *ἐπί*, and join the words with *ἔπλεον*.

δεξιῷ κέρᾳ ἡγουμένῳ: for the dative of accompaniment cp. iv. 120. 2 *ὁ Βρασίδας διέπλευσε νυκτὸς ἐς τὴν Σκιώνην, τριήρει μὲν φιλίᾳ προπλεούσῃ.*

ὥσπερ καὶ ὥρμουν: after the movement began, the ships were in the same relative position as when at anchor, only they were now four abreast instead of four deep.

2 **ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ**: sc. *δεξιῷ κέρᾳ*.

πλέοντα τὸν ἐπίπλουν σφῶν: *ἐπίπλουν* is here used in the concrete sense; cp. viii. 102. 2 *προειρημένης φυλακῆς τῷ φιλίῳ ἐπίπλῳ*. The force of *πλέοντα* seems to be, 'when advancing in line' (cp. *μετωπηδὸν ἔπλεον* § 4). Dobree's conjecture *πλέοντες* would go well with *ἔξω τοῦ ἑαυτῶν κέρως*, with which, as the text stands, *διαφύγοιεν* must be taken in a pregnant sense.

3 **ἐρήμῳ**: as in 4. 4.

ἐμβιβάσας: elsewhere Thuc. always expresses the object with this verb.

4 **κατὰ μίαν ἐπὶ κέρως**: 'in line ahead', one ship behind another. *ἐπὶ κέρως* is lit. 'in the direction of the wing'; what had been the left wing was now leading.

ἀπὸ σημείου ἑνός: cp. 92. 1 *ἀπὸ ἑνὸς κελεύσματος*, iv. 67. 4 *ἀπὸ ξυνθήματος*.

ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς: each ship turned to the left, thus resuming the original formation, which is meant by *μετωπηδόν*.

5 **ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν**: with *ὑπεκφεύγουσι*. The wide part of the gulf is here meant; in 86. 5 the word was used of the open water outside the promontories.

ἐξέωσάν τε πρὸς τὴν γῆν: the regular expression for driving a hostile fleet on shore; cp. viii. 105. 1 *ἐξέωσάν τε ἐς τὸ ξηρὸν τὰς ναῦς τῶν Ἀθηναίων.*

ὅσοι μὴ ἐξένευσαν αὐτῶν: swimming seems to have been very common among the Greeks. At Salamis very few Greeks perished, 'because they could swim' (*ἅτε νέειν ἐπιστάμενοι*); they are contrasted with the Persians *νέειν οὐκ ἐπιστάμενοι*, Hdt. viii. 89. Cp. Plato, *Laws* 689 D *ἂν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον μήτε γράμματα μήτε νεῖν ἐπίστωνται.*

6 μίαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν εἶλον ἤδη: a parenthetical mention of an act which had preceded the driving ashore of the Athenian ships.

ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις: i.e. encumbered though they were with their heavy armour.

92 *Ten Athenian ships escape to Naupactus, while another turns and rams her pursuer. Confusion of the enemy, who retreat to Panormus with the loss of six vessels. Both sides set up trophies. Arrival of the Athenian reinforcement from Crete.*

1 διέφθειραν: the compound is required by the usage of Thuc.

αὐτούς: the crews of the twenty ships.

ἀμυνούμενοι: the masculine refers to the crews.

3 καὶ περιπλεύσασα: these words, omitted in A B, seem necessary to justify *περὶ ἥν*. For the relation of the two participles cp. 4. 4 *λαθόντες καὶ διακόψαντες.*

4 διώκοντες . . . αἱ μέν τινες τῶν νεῶν . . . δρῶντες: the expression again fluctuates from crews to ships and back again.

καθεῖσαι τὰς κώπας: letting the blades of their oars sink considerably below the surface, so as to stop the way of the ship.

ἐπέστησαν τοῦ πλοῦ: intransitive aorist with partitive genitive.

ἀξύμφορον δρῶντες: for the neuter adj. without *τι* cp. vi. 21. 1 *εἴπερ βουλόμεθα ἄξιον τῆς διανοίας δρᾶν.*

πρὸς τὴν ἐξ ὀλίγου ἀντεφόρμησιν: this reading is supported by 89. 9 *δι' ὀλίγου τῆς ἐφορμήσεως οὔσης*, against the variant *ἀντεξόρμησιν* (from *ὁρμάω*).

βράχεα: like Lat. *brevia*, 'shallows'. The singular *βράχος* does not occur in classical Greek.

1 θάρσος τε ἔλαβε: in Homer *λαμβάνειν* is frequently used of emotions, but the use is very rare in prose. See note on 40. 3 *θράσος.*

ὀλίγον μὲν χρόνον ὑπέμειναν : this clause is introduced solely for the sake of contrast with ἔπειτα ἐτράποντο, to which alone the words διὰ . . . ἀταξίαν logically belong.

3 ἐξέπεσεν : i. e. his body was washed ashore, ἐκπίπτω representing the passive of ἐκβάλλω.

4 ὅθεν ἀναγαγόμενοι : it is not clear whether the locality referred to is the neighbourhood of the Molycric Rhium (86. 2) or the waters off the Apollonion (91. 1).

5 ἃς . . . ναῦς : instead of τῶν νεῶν ἃς, where the genitive depends on τῆς τροπῆς.

93, 94 *The Megarians suggest a scheme for attacking Peiraeus with a fleet lying at Nisaea, to be manned by sailors from the fleet of Cnemus. The attack is diverted to Salamis, causing consternation at Athens. The Peloponnesians withdraw from the island on the approach of the Athenians.*

93 1 διὰ τὸ ἐπικρατεῖν : sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

τὸ ὑπηρέσιον : cp. Isocr. 169 A οἱ ἄρχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξιοῦντες ὑπηρέσιον ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν.

τὸν τροπωτῆρα : the thong which fastened the oar to the thole ; cp. Hom. *Od.* iv. 782 ἠρτύναντο δ' ἐρετμὰ τροποῖς ἐν δερματίνοισι, Aesch. *Pers.* 376 ναυβάτης τ' ἀνὴρ | τροποῦτο κώπην σκαλμὸν ἀμφ' εὐήρετμον.

3 μὴ ἄν ποτε . . . ἐπιπλεύσειαν : for the optative with ἄν following μή after a word expressing fear or anxiety cp. Soph. *Trach.* 631 δέδοικα γὰρ | μὴ πρῷ λέγοις ἂν τὸν πόθον τὸν ἐξ ἐμοῦ. In v. 14. 3 we have μή with the subjunctive : προσδοκίας οὔσης μή τι καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες . . . νεωτερίσωσιν.

οὐδὲ . . . οὐδέ : with this combination there is stress on the second of the two clauses.

καθ' ἡσυχίαν : i. e. without being interfered with. With τολμῆσαι ἄν, which depends on προσδοκία (ἦν), understand ἐπιπλεῦσαι, as also with διενοοῦντο. The contrast seems to be between (1) an open (and actual) attack, and (2) an intention to attack (either openly or secretly). With regard to (1), the enemy would not have the requisite daring, and if they had they would meet with resistance.

μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθέσθαι : sc. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. Here μὴ οὐ is used after οὐδέ as after verbs with a negative.

4 **καὶ ἐχώρουν**: cp. 21. 1 *καί τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον.*

τοῦ μὴ ἐσπλεῖν . . . μηδέν: see note on 22. 1. **ἐσπλεῖν** ('to come in by sea') and **ἐκπλεῖν** represent the passives of **ἐσάγειν** and **ἐξάγειν**; cp. viii. 90. 5 *τὸν σῖτον . . . τὸν ὑπάρχοντά τε καὶ τὸν ἐσπλέοντα.*

1 **τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον**: the reference here must be to the Ten Years War, for in viii. 96. 1 we are told that *τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις . . . ἔκπληξις μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὶν παρέστη* on the revolt of Euboea in 411 B.C.

2 **πανδημεί**: see note on 31. 1.

3 **ἔστι . . . ὅτι** = *non nihil.*

4 **ἤδη**: the variant *ἅμα* does not go well with *καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο*, and is too far away to be taken with *λιμένων . . . ἐπιμελείᾳ.*

λιμένων τε κλῄσει: the mouths of the harbours of Piraeus proper, Zea, and Munychia were now protected by sea-walls, leaving only a narrow passage in the centre, which could be closed by a chain.

96 *Campaign of Sitalces against Perdiccas and the Chalcidians. He calls to arms various tribes.*

1 **δύο ὑποσχέσεις τὴν μὲν . . ., τὴν δέ**: partitive apposition, common with the nominative (cp. 21. 3), rarely occurs with the oblique cases; cp. Soph. *Ant.* 21 and 561.

2 **ὑποσχόμενος**: the nature of the promise is left unexplained.

Φίλιππον: he had been deprived by Perdiccas of his part of Macedonia (100. 3), and received support from Athens (i. 57. 3).

τὸν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Χαλκιδικὸν πόλεμον: the inhabitants of the region were called *οἱ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης Χαλκιδεῖς* (i. 57. 5).

3 **Ἀμύνταν**: the father of Philip and grandfather of Alexander the Great.

ἡγεμόνα: he was to advise Sitalces; cp. iii. 105. 3 *πέμπουσι δὲ (οἱ Ἀκαρνᾶνες) καὶ ἐπὶ Δημοσθένη τὸν ἐς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγήσαντα, ὅπως σφίσιν ἡγεμὼν γίγνηται.*

Ἄγνωνα: cp. ch. 58.

5 1 **ἀνίστησιν**: as in 68. 1.

ἐκ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν: between Mt. Haemus (the Balkan range) and the river Hebrus.

τῆς Ῥοδόπης: the range in south-west Thrace, now Despotodagh.

[ἐς τὸν . . . Ἑλλήσποντον]: these words were apparently not known to the scholiast.

τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἶμον Γέτας: a bold use of the dative of reference, which is generally connected with a verb; cp. 49. 5 *ἀπτομένῳ*, 51. 1

παραλιπόντι, i. 24. 1 *Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι ἐς τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον*.

μέρη: rarely used in the sense of *ἔθνη*.

ἱπποτοξόται: Hdt. iv. 46 applies this word to the Scythians.

2 **μαχαιροφόρων**: armed with short curved sabres.

3 **ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη**: cp. 72. 3 *ἄλλο εἴ τι δυνατόν*.

μέχρι γὰρ Λαιαίων: this is undoubtedly the correct reading; its corruption into *Γραικῶν καὶ* led to the insertion of *οὗ* two lines below in order to secure connexion. In the next clause *διὰ Γρα(ι)αίων* is a corruption of *δι' Ἀγριάνων*.

ἔθνη Παιονικά: to the north of Macedonia, extending on the west to Illyria, and on the east beyond the Strymon.

Σκόμβρου: this form is supported by Arist. *Meteor.* i. 13, though MSS. authority here is in favour of **Σκομίου**. Mt. Scombrus lay to the south of the main range of the Balkans.

αὐτονόμους ἤδη: for *ἤδη* in the local sense cp. iii. 95. 1 *καὶ Φωκεῦσιν ἤδη ὅμορος ἡ Βοιωτία ἐστίν*.

4 **Τριβαλλούς**: in what is now Servia.

Ὀσκίου: called by Herodotus **Σκίος**, by Strabo **Σκαιός**, by Pliny *Oescus*, now Isker or Ischar, a tributary of the Danube.

ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους: Meineke proposed to insert *Ὀρβήλου* before *ὄρους*, comparing Hdt. v. 16. But Hdt. iv. 49 places the source of the **Σκίος** in Mt. Rhodope; Aristotle on the other hand (*Meteor.* i. 13) makes the Nestus and the Hebrus rise in Mt. Scombrus.

97 *Extent and wealth of the Odrysian kingdom; comparison with Scythia.*

1 **αὕτη περίπλους ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ**: on *περίπλους* depend the words *τεσσάρων . . . νυκτῶν*: 'this coast-line is equivalent to a coasting-voyage of four days and as many nights'. Cp. Hdt. ii. 29 *τὸ δὲ χωρίον τοῦτο ἐστὶ ἐπ' ἡμέρας τέσσερας πλόος*.

ἣν αἰεὶ κατὰ πρύμναν ἱστῆται τὸ πνεῦμα: for *ἵστασθαι*, used of a steady wind, cp. vi. 104. 2 *ἁρπασθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνέμου . . . ὃς ἐκπνεῖ ταύτῃ μέγας κατὰ βορέαν ἑστηκώς*. Cp. also Soph. *Phil.* 1451 *ἐπείγει κατὰ πρύμναν*, and contrast 639 *πνεῦμα τοὐκ πρῴρας*.

νηὶ στρογγύλῃ: the tub-shaped merchant-ship as opposed to the *ναῦς μακρά*, ship of war. Cp. vi. 1. 2 *Σικελίας γὰρ περίπλους μέν ἐστιν ὁλκάδι οὐ πολλῷ τινὶ ἔλασσον ἢ ὀκτὼ ἡμερῶν*.

τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν καὶ ἴσων νυκτῶν: as the distance from Abdera to

the mouth of the Danube is about 460 nautical miles, this gives an average of 115 nautical miles for each period of 24 hours. Hdt. iv. 86 reckons about 69 n. m. as a long day's voyage, and about 59 as a night's voyage. Lycurgus (*c. Leocr.* 71) gives an average of 66 n. m. per day.

ὁδῷ δέ: for the contrast with *περίπλους* cp. vi. 49. 4 *ἀπέχοντα Συρακουσῶν οὔτε πλοῦν πολὺν οὔτε ὁδόν.*

ἀνὴρ εὔζωνος: Hdt. in three passages uses this method of estimating distance; in iv. 101 he reckons a day's journey as 200 stadia (about 22 miles).

τελεῖ: used absolutely, *τὰ ξυντομώτατα* being adverbial acc. as in the preceding sentence; cp. iv. 78. 5 *ἐς Φάρσαλον ἐτέλεσε*, and the similar use of *ἀνύω*.

2 ἐς ἤπειρον: 'towards the interior', like *ἄνω* in the next clause. In Homer *ἤπειρος* often means 'land' as opposed to sea, and thus is used even of islands, e. g. *Od.* v. 56.

ἀνύσαι: epexegetic infinitive.

3 ὅσον προσῆξαν: the MSS. have *ὅσων*, the scholiast *ὅσον*. An aorist *-ῆξα* occurs in Attic prose only in Antiphon 5. 46, and the compound *προσάγειν* in the sense which it must bear here occurs only in Polybius v. 30. 5. Hence Dobree's conjecture *ὅσωνπερ ἦρξαν*.

ἀργυρίου: the value (*δύναμις*) of the uncoined gold and silver is reckoned according to the Greek method in talents of silver. For this sense of *δύναμις* cp. vi. 46. 3 *ἃ ὄντα ἀργυρᾶ πολλῷ πλείω τὴν ὄψιν ἀπ' ὀλίγης δυνάμεως χρημάτων παρείχετο.*

ᾖει: the verb is used of money 'coming in' in i. 4, *τοῦ τὰς προσόδους μᾶλλον ἰέναι αὐτῷ*. But the absence of a dative here leads many editors to adopt the variant *εἴη* (iterative optative).

ὅσα ὑφαντά τε καὶ λεῖα: cp. 13. 4 *ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη*. The contrast is between embroidered and plain stuffs.

4 τοὐναντίον τῆς Περσῶν βασιλείας: Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 2. 7 *διαμένει ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡ πολυδωρία.*

ἐπὶ πλέον: with *δύνασθαι* as well as with *ἐχρήσαντο*.

ἐπὶ μέγα . . . ἰσχύος: cp. i. 118. 2 *ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως.*

5 τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ: the Macedonian kingdom and the various petty monarchies in Epirus.

ἰσχύι δὲ μάχης: the genitive is due to the desire for parallelism with *στρατοῦ πλήθει.*

δευτέρα μετὰ τὴν Σκυθῶν : for the sense of 'inferior' cp. Hdt. i. 23 *ἐόντα κιθαρῳδὸν τῶν τότε ἐόντων οὐδενὸς δεύτερον*, Soph. *O. C.* 351 and 1228. Thuc. is contradicting the statement of Herodotus, v. 3, *Θρηίκων δὲ ἔθνος μέγιστόν ἐστι μετά γε Ἰνδοὺς πάντων ἀνθρώπων· εἰ δὲ ὑπ' ἑνὸς ἄρχοιτο ἢ φρονέοι κατὰ τὠυτό, ἄμαχόν τ' ἂν εἴη καὶ πολλῷ κράτιστον πάντων ἐθνέων κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν.*

6 ἓν πρὸς ἕν : we are to exclude the Persian Empire, which embraced many *ἔθνη*.

ὁμογνωμονοῦσι : equivalent to a conditional clause.

ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ ξύνεσιν : *ἄλλην* means 'as distinguished from the exhibition of these qualities in concerted action'. But Hdt. iv. 46, speaking of the mobility of the Scythians, says, *τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένεϊ ἓν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπηίων πρηγμάτων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν.*

98,99 *Sitalces advances to Doberus. The number and nature of his forces. The kingdom of Perdiccas distinguished from Upper Macedonia. Tribes dispossessed by the Macedonian kings.*

98 1 ἄρας : see note on 12. 4.

διὰ Κερκίνης : the range running southwards from the Scardian range between the Upper Strymon and the Axius.

2 Δόβηρον : probably a table-land, on the west side of Cercine.

3 προσεγίγνετο δέ : understand *οὐκ ὀλίγον* out of *οὐδέν*.

99 2 Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἐλιμιῶται : towards the frontiers of Illyria and of Epirus.

βασιλείας δ' ἔχει καθ' αὑτά : one of these vassal kingdoms was that of the Ὀρέσται (80. 6).

3 Τημενίδαι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ὄντες ἐξ Ἄργους : the legend is told by Hdt. viii. 137–9.

Πιερίας : between Mt. Olympus and the Thermaic Gulf.

τὸ Πάγγαιον : the mountain range famous for its gold mines.

Πιερικὸς κόλπος : *κόλπος* is used, like Lat. *sinus*, of a district with a bending coast-line.

τῆς Βοττίας : between the Haliacmon and the Axius ; also called Βοττιαία (100. 4) and Βοττιαίς (Hdt. vii. 123) ; whereas Βοττική (101. 5) denotes the district they afterwards inhabited in Chalcidice.

4 στενήν : a substantive ; cp. *ἄκρα*, *πλατεῖα*.

5 Ἐορδίας : to the west of Pieria and Bottia.

ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ . . ., βραχὺ δέ τι αὐτῶν: *αὐτῶν* is here redundant after the relative; contrast 4. 5.

Ἀλμωπίας: to the north of Eordia.

6 οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι: i.e. those Macedonians who fought under the Temenidae and their descendants, while Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν (below) refers to those who resisted.

Ἀνθεμοῦντα καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Βισαλτίαν: between the Axius and the Strymon.

πολλήν: sc. *γῆν*.

101 *The defences of Macedonia were subsequently strengthened by King Archelaus. The Thracians advance from Doberus, the Macedonians resisting only with cavalry. Part of the Thracians ravage Chalcidice. Alarm excited in Thessaly and elsewhere. Perdiccas wins over Seuthes, who induces Sitalces to give up the expedition.*

1 οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες οὗτοι: the inhabitants of Lower Macedonia in general.

τὰ καρτερὰ καὶ τὰ τείχη: *τὰ καρτερά* are positions naturally strong; cp. iii. 18. 4 *φρούρια δ' ἔστιν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν ἐγκατῳκοδόμηται.*

2 Ἀρχέλαος: he reigned 413–399 B. C.

ὁδοὺς εὐθείας ἔτεμε: i.e. he made roads by cutting down trees (cp. 98. 1).

τἆλλα: 'in every other respect', as well as in the formation of military roads. For the construction cp. 15. 2, where the verb *διακοσμεῖν* is used of Theseus; in vi. 54. 5 it is used of the Pisistratidae. (If *τε* is retained, it must be taken as 'and', and *τἆλλα* is acc. of the direct object.)

ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὀκτώ: for the position of *ὀκτώ* see note on 31. 1 *ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσίν.* The seven predecessors of Perdiccas are named by Hdt. viii. 139.

3 Φιλίππου: see note on 95. 2.

Εἰδομενὴν . . . Γορτυνίαν . . . Ἀταλάντην . . . Εὐρωπόν: towns in the valley of the Axius.

4 ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Πέλλης καὶ Κύρρου: i.e. to the east of these towns, as the Thracians had come from the north. Cyrrhus was north-west of Pella.

ἔσω δὲ τούτων: i.e. farther west and south.

5 **τῶν ἄνω ξυμμάχων**: cp. 99. 2.

101 1 **ἀπιστοῦντες αὐτὸν μὴ ἥξειν**: the distrust of the Athenians may have been due to the delay of two years on the part of Sitalces.

3 **ὅσοι πεδία εἶχον**: opposed to *τῶν ὀρεινῶν Θρᾳκῶν . . . τῶν αὐτονόμων* (96. 2). They dwelt in the plain between the Strymon and the Nestus.

4 **παρέσχε δὲ λόγον**: *λόγον* here means 'anxious consideration', and in order to emphasize the far-reaching effect of the Thracian movement *ἐπί* ('as far as') follows *παρέσχε* instead of the usual dative.

ἀγόμενοι: in the sense of *πειθόμενοι*: the plural refers to *οἱ Θρᾷκες*.

5 **Μακεδονίαν**: i. e. the part of Macedonia mentioned in 100. 4.

ἐπέχων: 'occupying' (not 'pausing', 'advancing no farther', which would require *ἐπισχών*).

Σεύθου . . . μέγιστον μεθ' ἑαυτὸν δυναμένου: Sadocus, the son of Sitalces, must have been dead by this time. The nephew Seuthes succeeded to the throne in 424 B. C. (iv. 101. 5).

χρήματα ἐπ' αὐτῇ: cp. the use of *ἐπιδίδωμι*, 'to give in dowry'; Hom. *Il.* ix. 148 *ὅσσ' οὔπω τις ἐῇ ἐπέδωκε θυγατρί*, Lysias xvi. 10 *δύο μὲν ἀδελφὰς ἐξέδωκα ἐπιδοὺς τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκατέρᾳ*.

102 *Operations of Phormio in Acarnania. Impossibility of attacking Oeniadae owing to the flooding of the Achelous. Description of the Echinades. Legend of Alcmaeon.*

1 **ἐπ' Ἀστακοῦ**: this town must have come over to the Athenian side after the restoration by the Corinthians of the tyrant Euarchus (33. 1).

Κορόντων . . . Κύνητα: neither the place nor the person is mentioned elsewhere.

βεβαίους: as in 40. 4.

2 **Οἰνιάδας**: see note on ch. 82.

ἄνωθεν μέν: 'in its upper course'. The adverb goes with *ῥέων*. Stratus is on the north side of the Acarnanian plain, after traversing which the river flows between mountains to the sea.

δ' ἐξιείς: Poppo's conjecture for *διεξιείς* gives the required antithesis.

3 **τοῦ Ἀχελῴου**: Herodotus (ii. 10), in reference to the effect of the Nile, mentions the Achelous as one of the rivers *οἵτινες ἔργα ἀποδεξάμενοι μεγάλα εἰσί*.

προσχοί: cp. Hdt. l. c. *τῶν ταῦτα τὰ χωρία* (Ilium, Teuthrania, Ephesus, and the plain of the Maeander) *προσχωσάντων ποταμῶν*.

εἰσὶ τῶν νήσων αἳ ἠπείρωνται: Hdt. l. c. *τῶν Ἐχινάδων νήσων τὰς ἡμισέας ἤδη ἤπειρον πεποίηκε.*

4 ἀλλήλαις τῆς προσχώσεως . . . ξύνδεσμοι γίγνονται: 'form links with one another by keeping the deposit together'. The bracketed words read like a gloss: the subject of *σκεδάννυσθαι* would be *τὴν πρόσχωσιν.*

5 ὅτε δὴ ἁλᾶσθαι αὐτόν: the indicative *ἡλᾶτο* would regularly be retained in *oratio obliqua*, but sometimes the infinitive is used, especially in relative and temporal clauses; Thucydides has it after *ὅτε, ἐπειδή*, and even after *εἰ.*

τῆς μητρός: Eriphyle.

6 ἱκανὴ ἂν κεχῶσθαι δίαιτα τῷ σώματι: a compressed expression for 'enough soil would have been deposited to support life upon'.

τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν: 'the new name', the inhabitants having formerly been called Curetes (Paus. viii. 24. 9).

103 *Phormio returns to Athens with the captured ships and crews.*

1 τοὺς ἐλευθέρους: we are to understand that the slaves among the rowers had been sold.

Note on the Plague at Athens.

Thucydides (iii. 87) gives the duration of the plague and the mortality which it caused. The first visitation lasted two years (430–428 B.C.); after a partial cessation the malady broke out afresh in the winter 427–426, and continued fully a year. Not less than 4,400 hoplites and 300 knights perished, and of the common people a number that could not be ascertained.

The sole first-hand authority for the plague is Thucydides. His account is closely followed by Lucretius (vi. 1138–1286), who in some points misunderstands the original, while in other respects he supplements it by symptoms taken from various writings in the Hippocratic Corpus (see Munro's commentary ad loc.).

Diodorus (xii. 58) gives the mortality as over 4,000 hoplites, 400 knights, and more than 10,000 freemen and slaves. For the recurrence of the disease in 427–426 he assigns three causes: (*a*) the stagnant water left by a rainy winter produced poisonous exhalations in the ensuing summer; (*b*) the grain was sodden and corrupted; (*c*) the absence of the usual Etesian winds caused extreme heat.

PLUTARCH (*Per.* 34–8) adds nothing to Thucydides' account of the symptoms; but he states that the failure of the expedition to Epidaurus was partly due to an outbreak of plague in the attacking force; that Xanthippus, son of Pericles, died of the plague; and that Pericles himself appears (ἔοικεν) to have died of a lingering form of the same malady (βληχρᾷ τινι νόσῳ).

In the Hippocratic Corpus there is no mention of a plague *at Athens*; in the description of a plague in *Epidem.* iii. 2–5 the symptoms agree in some respects, but differ in others, from those recorded by Thucydides.

No satisfactory diagnosis of the disease described by Thucydides has yet been made. It is improbable that it was bubonic plague, or smallpox, or scarlet fever. Murchison, an eminent authority, believed it to have been typhus; some would regard it as typhus combined with dysentery or with malaria or with other infectious diseases. Others are inclined to look upon it as the pneumonic form of the Oriental plague. Anthrax has recently been suggested by Kanngiesser as a possible explanation.

Of the causes mentioned by Diodorus, the first points to malaria as an accompaniment of the main disease (cf. W. H. S. Jones, *Malaria and Greek History*, p. 37; 'the symptoms [in the case of Pericles] as given by Plutarch, are strongly suggestive of malaria', ibid., p. 36). The second would appear to indicate ergotism, produced by eating bread made from grain affected by the fungus ergot.

[I am indebted to Dr. J. D. Comrie, Lecturer on the History of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh, for bringing to my notice an article on 'Die Seuche des Thukydides' by Dr. F. Kanngiesser in the *Medizinische Klinik* (Berlin, 1911, No. 29), which contains a summary of the conflicting views; and to Dr. Kanngiesser for sending me copies of this and of four other articles contributed by him to various German medical journals.—T. R. M.]

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